

ESSAY

At Removing

NATIONAL PREJUDICES

AGAINST A

UNION

WITH

SCOTLAND.

To be continued.

PART I.

EDINBURGH

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E S S A Y at removing National Prejudices, &c.

Hitherto all the Tracts I have seen upon the Subject of the Union serve only to Two Ends.

Either Historically to relate what has been done towards an Union in other and former Treaties, with the particular Obstructions on either Side.

Or to debate the present Question, What sort of Union is most proper for the Nations at this time?

The several Authors have done so much on the first of these, that nothing is wanting to be added to their Work; and on the second, their Reasonings are many on both Sides, which I shall abridge first, and then, perhaps, add something farther, which may not be useless in the Case; and which, as a Column erected on a prepar'd Pedestal, may rise up to a compleat Form, agreeable in Order and Beauty to the Design.

'Tis in vain to commence a Treaty of Union, and which must after be referr'd to the great collected Councils on either Side, while National Aversions remain unmov'd, and Immortal Prejudices fill the Minds of the People.

These are the Mountains, which must be level'd, to make smooth this Valley of Peace; and this is the Fever in the Blood, which, 'till 'tis abated, and the Inflammation carry'd off, the great National Wound can never be cur'd.

A Temper to Peace must be found, or if not found, must the form'd in both Nations, as the great Preliminary to this Treaty; and without which it will be in vain to enter upon the greater Articles of it.

If this be wanting, to what purpose does the Queen invite, the Parliament prepare, and Commissioners meet, other than to furnish Authors to compleat their Historical Accounts, of what has been to little purpose attempted towards a Union.

And yet I am not speaking here of the Temper of the Commissioners on either Hand, with Respect to Union; I make no Question, but they come on both Sides heartily inclin'd to the thing in general, I wish them as sincerely agreeing in the Methods,

But as what they do, is to be recommended to, and laid before the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, whole Members, without any Reflection on them, may be variously influenc'd, from Causes too many to repeat here, and on whom the ancient Prejudices of the Times may have made too large Impressions.

For these Reasons, I cannot but think 'tis necessary to Essay the Removing those Prejudices, in the best manner I can, as a thing no Man has yet attempted, and as what is absolutely necessary to the great Work we are upon.

I believe I may be allow'd to say, without any Charge of Partiality or Affectation to our selves, or of our real Merit, That there are not, Two braver Nations in the World, or that have more shown their Courage and Gallantry, upon all occasions, than the *Scots* and *English*.

And as these two People inhabit one Island, neither separated by dangerous Seas or unpassible Mountains, neither bounded with vast Deserts or great Rivers, by which either the Communications of Peace and Trade, or the Access of War might be rendred difficult, the on-looking World has beheld with no less Wonder than Pleasure, that they have not to this Day been able to unite in one Body.

Their Wonder must needs arise from it's being the apparent Interest of both Nations, long since to have joyn'd Hands to their mutual Interest, and to have joyn'd their Force to their mutual Strength and Defence; no Nations in *Europe*, whom Nature had seem'd to prepare for such a Union, and laid up in store so many visible Advantages of Uniting, being to be suppoed, so blind to their real Interests, without great Scandal even to their Understandings, or at least to their Temper. It cannot but have seem'd strange to all the Nations of the World, who see into the vast Advantages of a Union to both these Kingdoms, that they themselves, who have neither of them been counted among the foolishst Nations of the World, should not see it also; and that so many Revolutions of State and of Years, as have pass'd over their Heads, so many afflicting Circumstances, War, Blood, Devastation, and Destruction, have not yet been able to make them wise to their own Peace, and show them even by the contrary the Necessity, as well as the Profit, of a firm Union between them, such as may for ever shut the Door against the fatal Invasions, Depredations, and terrible Eruption of Blood and War which, with but small Intermissions, have alternately afflicted both Kingdoms.

Not has it been without some secret Satisfaction that our Neighbours have observ'd this, especially those of them as have either envy'd or apprehended the Addition of Strength such a Union would be to these Nations, and the formidable Encrease it would be to the *Britannick* Power. It cannot but have been very pleasing to the *French* and *Spanish* Governments, with whom we have been at open Wars, to observe how the National Animosities between the *English* and *Scots*, have always kept them embroyl'd and by spending their Native Fury, terrible to them, upon one another, prevented the Mischiefs, and lessen'd the Powers, of the *English* especially, which, they had Reason to fear, might have otherwise been to formidable for them to oppose.

It would be too tedious here to recite the innumerable Instances, how the Divisions of these Nations have assisted to the rising Glory of our Neighbours; and he that has not read how *France* under *Charles* the Dauphin, afterwards *Charles* the Fifth, when by the Conquest of *Henry* the Sixth she was almost entirely subjected to the *English*, recovered her self, chiefly by the Valour and Assistance of the *Scots*, must not pass with me for a Historian.

Had *Scotland* been then united to *England*, and the Thirty Thousand *Scots*, which at sundry Times went over to assist that dejected Prince, been sent hither to join the *English* Armies, then under the brave Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, and the best General *England* ever saw, *France* had for ought we know, been entirely subjected to the *English* Power, and *Britain* had given Law to all these Parts of the World.

'T would be endless to trace Antiquity, and bring upon the Stage the very many Instances when *Scotland* has had the Fate of *England* in her Hand; and again, when *England* has put the Yoke upon the Neck of the *Scots* Power. The only useful Observation from which, to the present purpose, is, How these alternate Advantages over one another, have tended to the weakening both; and, by a Chain of Disasters, has helpt to reduce us both to the present Condition, and Danger of being overpower'd by our too potent Neighbours; who, had these Nations been long ago united under prudent and politic Measures had perhaps been always kept too low to have lookt us in the Face.

Now Disaster begins to make us wise; and though the Steps both Nations have made toward Union, have been very slow, yet it is a long time since they both saw it their Interest, and have express a Willingness to bring it to pass.

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Whether Providence, for Ends yet unknown to us, or the Nature of things, has retarded it so long, is not for me to determine; but very small have been the Beginnings, and Progress of this willingness to unite

The first Step towards a common Courtesy between the Nations, was in the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Henry the VIIIth.* to *James the Fourth King of Scotland*; and 'tis remarkable that wise Prince was the first in *England*, that foresaw an advantage to *England* by a Union with *Scotland*; the Particulars of which we find noted in History, viz. That when the Match was proposed in Council, it met with great Opposition there from an Apprehension that one time or other such an Alliance might bring the Crown of *England* into the Line of *Scotland*. -- And what if it should, says that wise Prince, with a Spirit one would think had been Prophetic, *If any such thing should happen I foresee that it will come to pass that our Kingdom of England will lose nothing thereby, because there will not be an Accession of England to Scotland, but on the contrary, of Scotland to England, as to that is by much the more noble Head of the whole Island.* Vide *Speed's Chron.* Reign of *Henry the VIIIth.*

Had any Man been by the King, that had known what we now come by Length of Time to understand, they might have added, but it will be the certain Depressing and Ruin of *Scotland*, by removing her Court & Gentry, by losing the Concourse of Strangers, Residence of Ambassadors, and consequently the Expence of Money, and the Helps to Trade from her Capital City, by lessening her Interest in foreign Courts, and her Value in the World, with innumerable Mischiefs attending the Mannels of a Kingdom without a Head.

That *Scotland*, by this means, would rather seem a Province than a Kingdom, and yet remain without the proper Advantages of a Province of *England* also; as being treated like Aliens; in every thing injurious and detrimental to *England*, and as Subjects, in every thing advantageous to *England*, tho' prejudicial to *Scotland*.

From this relative Union with *Scotland*, under *Henry VIIIth.* a settled Peace with *Scotland* began, and saving some short Intervals under *Henry the VIIIth* from a meer Capricio of that warm Prince, the long Peace between the Nations seem'd to prepare them on both Sides for more strict Engagements, by wearing out the Remembrance of former Injuries, and lessening the native Animosities of the People.

Since this we have had four Conjunctions, in which the closer Uni-

on we are now to treat about, has been in some more than common manner enter'd upon, and which I may say were especially proper to have brought it to pass.

1. The First under King *Edward the VI.* when the Protestant Religion being just settled here, *England* courted her Sister *Scotland* to join Hands, and become one Family under that good Prince: It was the first Juncture that we read of, that *England* was governed by a young unmarried King, and *Scotland* by a young unmarried Queen, at the same time nothing was so natural, as that by Marriage the Kingdom would become one in the next Blood of both Races.

The *English* made the Offer first in *Henry the VIIIth's* time, and now renew'd it, and the Contempt the *Scots* seem'd to show of it, and which appear'd to be the Faction of the Popish Party, fearing the Reformation, provok'd the *English* to a War; in which the *Scots* were overthrown in the great Battel at *Pinky* or *Muscolburgh*.

'Twas at this time the famous Declaration was emitted by the Duke of *Somerset*, the *English* General, when though he was Conquerour, he told the *Scots*, he came not to conquer them, but unite with them, and to offer them all the Advantages of the *English* Amity. Some of the most significant Expressions of which Declaration, are such as these.

We Conquer, and yet we propose Peace; We gain Victory by War, and we offer Amity and Friendship by Peace; We seek not Conquest, but Alliance, that you may be united in all things with us, in Marriage, in Trade, and all the Advantages of a lasting Amity.

If any Man please to read the said Declaration at large, too long to be inserted here, he will easily see that Age had quite different Thoughts from us, concerning a Treaty with *Scotland*; that they knew a Possession of Conquest would never keep *Scotland*; and that Union, not Victory, was the common Interest of this Nation.

But the *Scots* then could not see their Intrest, the Power of Popish Councils prevail'd upon them, and for Fear of Reformation they rejected the just Advantages to the State, and sent away the Queen privately to *France*.

The next Turn was more effectual, and this was at the Coming of King *James the VIth.* of *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*: The Propheetick Expressions, quoted before from the Mourn of *Henry the VIth* were now come to pass, and the Crown of *England* devolv'd upon the House of *Scotland*. Had *K. James* done Justice to his Native Countrey, had he thought

thought of their future Prosperity; in short, had he thought of any thing but neglecting his own Kingdom, & suppressing the true Interest of its entire Union to pass, and to have ended all the Difficulties, Disputes, and Quarrels, that afterwards embroil'd these Kingdoms in Bloody Wars, Parties then to be found, who envy'd, and perhaps fear'd the publick Tranquillity, so there has never since wanted a succeeding Race to inherit their Rancour; and who on all occasions, blow the Coals of Dissaffection between the two Nations.

How the good Endeavours of those People, who at the Death of Queen Elizabeth, labour'd hard to begin the new Reign with a Union of Nations, came to be defeated, and the further Prosecution of it dropt; how King James forgetting the true Interest of his Country, instead of gratifying the Scots with what might have been for the general Good of the Kingdom, only brought a long Train of them hither, who gaping for Preferment, and equally neglecting their own Country, serv'd only to make the English jealous and uneasy, and consequently averse to uniting. These are stories too tedious and too remote to engage in here; 'tis enough to leave it to Posterity that the thing was attempted, but ill persued, the blessed healing Juncture being reserv'd to an Opportunity yet to come.

How after this, the Scots differ'd with K. Charles the Ist, on his Attempt to impose the English Service upon them: How they came to a Pacification without Blood, or with but a little: How afterwards they fully paid the ill Treatment of the Father K. James upon the Son, whose Ruin, their Army then entering, England compleated, by turning the Scale of the King's Affairs, and over-balancing his Forces, at the Great Battel at Warstonmoon, I leave for those Gentlemen to consider, who upon all occasions are for reckoning the Scots for nothing in their Calculations, and thinking they merit no Regard in the general Account of the Strengths of Europe.

In the Interval of Affairs here, under the Parliament and O Cromwell, we find a real Union between the Kingdoms, carried on to a kind of Settlement, though something imperfect; but whoever contriv'd such a Settlement it was, as, had the next Government thought to have built upon it, might have risen up to all the Parts of a compleat Union; but this dyed with the Times, and the Controversies

of Scotland return'd to its full Exercise under King *Charles* the 11d.

3. At the Revolution under King *William*, I must own the *Scots* had the fairest Opportunity of perfecting the thing, that perhaps they will ever again be trusted with.

The *English* Affairs were then in that Condition, that I cannot but say, the *Scots* might have almost forc'd it upon us, if they would: There could have been hardly any Article in the Matters of Trade or Government, which the Crown of *England* would not have been in a manner very free to give up, to secure the *Scots* then in the Interest of the new establish'd Government, which for some time 'twas expected they would waver in; whether the *Scots* in the so speedy Concession, and falling in with the *English* Settlement, did not show more Generosity than Discretion; and whether they have been gratefully treated for it since, I purposely omit, because being to treat of a Union of the Two Kingdoms, with Design to prepare both Sides for it, I would rip up no old Sores, nor bring to Remembrance any thing that should tend to prepossess either Nation against the other.

This Opportunity has been lost, and now the last Juncture, perhaps, that ever may offer itself, for the closing this mortal Breach seems to appear.

What Steps were made toward it, or rather from it, in a late Commission, and *seeming Treaty*, I also purposely omit; and though the Umbrage taken here at the *Scots* Act of Security, the *preposterous* Law made here, which was in its Nature a Declaration of War, the marching Troops to the North, fortifying of *Hull*, and the like, are things meriting some Satyr; yet they, who consider this Nation then under the influence of a Party, and of such a Party, as were especially known by their Aversion to Scotland, as well as to Union in general, will easily forget these Things, as the Remains of a Temper always destructive to the Good of both Kingdoms, and as Indications only that this was not the proper Season for a Union.

But Time, and the Consequences of Things, have brought both the Nations to more healing measures; and *England* now, under the Influence of better Councils, has thought fit to show the *Scots* their Forwardness, to take away all just Pretences from those People, that willingly lay hold of them, to widen the Breaches of the Nations: In order to this, the Parliament has rescinded and abrogated that Act, which gave such Offence to the *Scots*, and without which, they had declar'd

putting the Notice they took of that Act into their Bill in Parliament, but into an Address to the Queen,---and the *English* Parliament voluntarily repealing the Act, which was injurious to *Scotland*, in order to make way for this Treaty, seems to be two healing Steps, and such mutual Advences, as gives great Encouragement to those People who hope for a good Issue of the present Treaty. By these Things those People were intirely disappointed who waiting for an Advantage over the *Scots*, laid hold of the Case of *Green and his Crew*, exaggerating and exclaiming against the pretended Injustice of those Executions, as a sufficient Ground of a *National Quarrel*, though at the same time there were two *Scots* hang'd to one *English* Man, and those condemn'd by the Ordinary Forms of Justice and Legal Process; in which they forgot, that had they all been *English* Men, and had after appear'd to be perfectly innocent, yet, that as a Nation, the *Scots* can be answerable for no more than giving Persons a fair and legal Tryal, according to the ordinary Course of Justice; under which, if unhappy Circumstances invol'd them, and they fell, yet, by the Law of Nations, no Publick Blame can by this be fixt upon the *Scots*, nor any pretence of a Quarrel be justly rais'd upon that Foundation.

I know now nothing to hinder the good Issue and Conclusion of the present Treaty, no Cloud upon the Prospect of the Success of it; nothing to apprehend so much from real as imaginary Difficulties, that are rais'd and kept alive by those, that really are afraid so great a Blessing should befall this Nation.

In order therefore to remove the Mists and Vapours of Imagination, from the Eyes of the People, and prepare Mens Minds for Union, the Design of this Work is, To remove the Prejudices settled, or that seem to be settled, in the Minds of the Common People of both Nations against each other; that a Union of the Nations may, as already it is to all wise Men, be really desireable to both Sides.

As this is what no Man has yet attempted, I hope it may be an acceptable thing to both Sides, and may open our Eyes to a second Article, viz. the Advantage of a Union to both the Nations.

And having in this Tract gone thro' these Heads, I shall, in the subsequent Part of the Work, examine a little the Terms of a Union, remove the Difficulties, expose the Artifice of those that form Objections from needless Fears & Jealousies, show how a Union may be made without any Danger to, or clashing in the Interests of the Establish'd Church.

es of, or the toletated Dissenters in either Nation, clear up their Eye-sight, who cannot see the Interest of their Native Countrey; and so go on to state the Fact in such proper Schemes of Eternal Peace, as may, backt with the Wisdom of both Nations, terminate in the lasting Tranquility and visible Encrease of the Power, Wealth, and Magnificence of the most powerful Island in the World.

1st. In removing the Prejudice on both Sides, I cannot but observe There is a manifest Difference in such things as these, and a Difference which more than ordinally influences the Success of such an Action, between coming to a Treaty **WICLING**, designing, and prepar'd **TO REMOVE** Difficulties, and bring the thing it self to a happy Conclusion: And on the other hand, coming **PREPAR'D TO RAISE** Difficulties, Cavil, Dispute, and Embarras a Treaty, that in Time may end in a Rupture, vanish into Air, and come to nothing.

National Prejudices are some of the worst sort of Humane Antipathies, and as they may be applyed, have frequently very bad Effects: And I cannot clear the *English* from the just Charge, of being the Nation in the World the most addicted to them; and when once they have entertain'd such unhappy Notions, are the hardest of any Nation in the World to be brought off from them again, tho' I hope they will not be so influenc'd here.

It is too long a Work here to examine this Particular, or to give Originals for inbred Antipathies of Nations; to say why the wild ungovern'd *Irish*, that mortally hate the very Name of an *English* Man, and have often, with the utmost Barbarity, murder'd Thousands of our People in cold Blood, are less hated by us than the *Dutch*, between whom and this Nation, mutual Engagements, and National Kindnesses have frequently pass'd to the common Advantage of both; why the *French*, between whom and this Nation frequent, terrible, and bloody Wars have often happen'd, are more respected than the *Scots* who inhabit the same *Terra Firma*, Natives of the same Island, ally'd by Inter-marriages, both Kings, Nobility, and Common People, and who live *among one another*, trade together, speak the same Language, profess the same Protestant Religion, and confederated together by a relative Union under the same Head.

'Tis true, former Wars, Invasions, and Depradations on either Side have laid the Foundation of these Animosities; in which, 'tis impossible to say which Nation has acted with most Blame, *Blood Devastation*, all
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sorts of Cruelties, Breach of Faith, Honour, and the Laws of Nations, have been too common on both Sides; and that Action of King Edward the 3^d. *the otherwise a glorious Prince*, in hanging up the Two Sons of the Brave Governor of Berwick, given as Hostages for the Surrender of the Town, if not reliv'd before such a time, only because he would not give up the Town before the Time was expir'd, *is a thing so detestable in its kind*, and such a Blot to the Memory of that great Conqueror, that if there were no other things to be mention'd against us, we ought for ever to be silent as to former Reproaches: an Action so horrid, that their own Mother, fill'd with Indigation at the Barbarity, came to her Husband, and entreated him, not to betray his Countrey into the Hands of so cruel an Enemy, to save her Children; justly arguing, that after he had thus broke his Faith with them in the Case of her Children, what Honour could they expect from him in the rest; that her Sons would die with Honour, and be an eternal Infamy to the Memory of the cruel Murtherer; that God might give them more Children, but their Countrey once betray'd could never be recovered. One would therefore think Time should now race out the Remembrance of these Things on both Sides, and since the Injuries of War were always reciprocal, and the Scots had perhaps as much to complain of as we; it seems strange the Seeds of that antient Strife should remain, now the Generations concern'd are remov'd out of the way; and the several Occasions of those Animosities are absolutely buried in the grave of time, never to be reviv'd, but by the most unaccountable folly and madness this Age can be guilty of.

But not to enter to far upon the ungratefull task of examining our Forefathers miscarriages, I shall come to the present National Prejudices, which, I think, seem'd to prepare the minds of the People with unhappy aversions to Union: And these I take to be such as follows.

I. One Our Side against the Scots. For,

1st. *Their Share in the last Civil War*: As to this, I can only say 'tis too long a Quarrel to decide here, and merits on all Sides to be buried in oblivion; since take it from Beginning to End, the Scots suffered deeply, had their Share in the Blood and Ruin of their Kingdom, and, at last, suffer'd almost an entire Reduction to England, for attempting to restore our Monarchy: Of which by it self.

As to the vulgar Mob-Charge of *selling the King*, which ignorant People, and no other, reproach them with: 'tis needless to enter into the

History of it, but refer the Objector to these few Observations.

1. They had no Power to have protected his Majesty, or to defend themselves against an inevitable War with *England*: which, with a Potent and victorious Army threatned to fall upon them, if they had carried the King away.

2. They were under no Ties of Obligation to the King, as a Prisoner taken; They were in Arms against him, and he came and put himself into their Hands, to their great Surprize, which is a yielding at Discretion; and, by the Law of Arms, left them at Liberty to dispose of him as they thought fit; and his Majesty was sensible, the Necessity of their Affairs made it impossible for them to detain him, unless they would immediately have come over to his Cause, which they could not do, nor did the King expect they would, having been in Arms against it.

3. Nor did they take any Money as a Price for the King, only agreed to depart, and deliver the King, who they durst not keep, and capitulated to have the Money paid them, which was due from the Parliament to them before.

4. And lastly, Nor did *they part with the King*, without making Articles with the *English* in his behalf, that they should treat him with Freedom, Honour and Safety which Articles, if they had been kept, the King had been a Gainer by what the *Scots* did not on his Behalf: And if these Agreements were after broken, and the King ill treated, 'tis the *English* must answer for that, not the *Scots*; who not only complain'd of it, but relented it so highly, that they took Arms against the Parliament on that very score, to revenge his Death, and made great Attempts to restore his Son, even to their own Ruin, and the Subversion of their Constitution.

So that doing Justice, this Prejudice is absolutely groundless and unreasonable; and seems to be raised upon the *Scots*, only to extenuate what some People fell into, with respect to that Prince, and can therefore leave no just Reproach upon the *Scots*, who, 'tis evident, by the Ruin they brought upon themselves, in endeavouring to restore the Son were no way capable of defending the Father.

Whether then shall we come for a Prejudice against the *Scots*; the most significant Objection we have, against uniting with them, is that they are Presbyterians; and *What if they were Papists*? Are Differences in Opinion incompatible with Union: How do we see the Numbers of
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Roman Catholics in Holland no manner of Obstruction to the Union of the Provinces; the Popish and Protestant Cantons of the *Swiss* united in a perpetual Confederacy. All the Prejudices that arise from this Suggestion amount to no more than this, not that it impedes a Union, in the most absolute and extensive Meaning at all, but that 'tis with Reluctance that they should see it.

This, without any Injustice, I call Party-Prejudice; and now they begin to tell us, the Danger of the Church of *England* will be brought upon the Stage again, and that here will be an evident Proof of it, which no Body can answer; and we begin already to be threatned with that Clamour.

To remove at least the Ground work of this Pretence, I think, it may be proper a little to enter into a History of Probabilities and calculate the Strength of Parties here as briefly as possible.

There is indeed some Difference here not between Author and Author among our High Church Champions but between Authors and themselves; sometimes they will have the Dissenters so inconsiderable a Party, that they can be easily suppress'd, and ought to be so, to prevent growing Mischiefs; at other times, the same Authors will have them be so formidable, that they are every Day frightening their Children, with their ruining and overturning both Church and State: What shall we do with such People as these? If it serves their Turn to cry out of the *Danger of the Church*, and the fatal Plots of the Dissenters, then they are a formidable Party, and the Government must be warn'd against them; and the Church is call'd upon to stand fast, and quit themselves like Men, *and the like*. If they find it proper to vaunt a little, and insult the Dissenters, then they are a mean and contemptible Party, and not worth any Body's Notice.

Upon this Uncertainty 'tis evident there can no just Calculation be made from these People's Judgments, but let us come to the Case.

If we come to unite, *say these Gentlemen*, the Presbyterian Power of *Scotland*, joyn'd to the Dissenters in *England*, will be too strong for the Church; and we shall be overwhelm'd by the party, and the Church destroy'd.

Let us see if the Reverse of this be not most probable: It is the general Opinion, that as to Numbers, the Dissenters in *England*, set against the Church, are not more than One to Twelve; as to Wealth, and Interest; in Trade, they are allow'd to be much

Numbers, 'tis all wise Mens Opinion, that one in Twelve is the Outside. In *Scotland*, by the same general Calculations, and Episcopal Party, who I now call Dissenters, are at least accounted to. Now tho' the whole Number of *Scots* were joyned to the Dissenters in *England*, and were put in a Ballance of Numbers, 'tis certain they would tall short of being a Match for the Church; then add their Poverty to the rest, which is the certain and constant Destruction of great Designs, the Church can be in no Danger in Point of Strength, if Providence were to stand neuter, and the Arms of Flesh to try it out.

Let no Prejudices therefore fill our Minds, with respect to the Interest of the Church of *England*; the Wealth and Strength of *England*, whose Government is wholly a Church of *England* Establishment, is beyond all Comparison superior to the Power of the Dissenters, were they to bereav'd of their Senses, as to attempt to disturb it.

Whoever therefore forms Prejudices in the Heads of the People of *England*, concerning Dangers to the Church from the Union, must give me leave to say, it is done with a sinister Design against the publick Peace of both Nations, and without any manner of Foundation, grounded either upon Reason, Truth or the Nature of Things.

Not but that there are other Reasons to prove, that the Church of *England* can take no Umbrage from this Union, which are drawn from Interests of each Nation, and from the Circumstances of the *Scots*, which I omit here as not to this purpose.

But when we consult the Article of meer Strength, there is no Shadow of Danger to the Church from the Union, but what at the same time will hold good to make us fear an entire Conquest of this Nation by the *Scots*, Without a Union; which they will allow to be ridiculous.

If I was to turn Argument, I confess I cannot speak with the same Assurance, that there is the same Safety to the *Scots* in the Case of their uniting with so powerful a Government as the Church of *England* Establishment in this Nation; what an encroaching Party here may not attempt, or at least what they would not attempt, if the *Sacra Postulata* of this Union should not be backt with the Protection of the Government, I will not answer for; but the Security of the Publick Faith will have some Reasons, besides the Honesty of such a Cause, to protect the *Scots* in all the just Rights: Of which I shall speak by it self.

I cannot imagine why it should remain as a Prejudice in the Minds of the People of either Nation, that they differ in some Articles of Religion.

igion, since a general Uniformity in Matters is not so much as hoped for in this Nation, and can really justify the prejudices against the *Scots*, no more, than it does our own unnatural Divisions one among another.

The difference in both Nations is not of *Religion*, but in *Religious Circumstances*; both are Protestant both Orthodox in Principles, and equally opposite to Popery, and Antichristianism: The Establishments of either Nations have no manner of Occasion to interfere, and an alternate Toleration might easily make a Reconciliation of Charity be universal.

How foolish then must National Prejudices be, and how much to our own Detriment, as well as to the Encouragement of the Enemies of both Nations, in that they tend to keep disunited two Nations, whose Divisions have been the Destruction of so many hundred thousand brave stout Fellows, whose Force, employ'd against Foreign Nations, might have made *Britain* Mistress of half the Nations of *Europe*.

II. The next Rank of Prejudices is, of the *Scots* Side against us.

These are such as our possessing the Sovereign, removing their Court, oppressing their Trade, neglecting them in our publick Treaties, excluding them in Advantages as Aliens, and using them as Natives in Cases to their Loss, ruining their Colony in *Darien*, seizing their *East India* Ships and the like.

Of these I only say in general, as they are proper Reasons why the *Scots* should desire this Union, so they cannot prejudice them against it, because by a Union they will be all remov'd; and in the pursue of this Work, I shall undertake to show how they may be remov'd, to the general Satisfaction of both Nations.

I know there are Prejudices relating to Trade, and some People have entertain'd Opinions of the *Scots* ruining us, and enriching themselves by Encroachments upon our Trade; but if I make it appear that a Freedom of Trade is our Advantage, more than the *Scots*, that the *Scots* have been oppress'd by us in Trade, and that tho' they shall grow rich, it shall be also our Advantage, I shall then effectually remove this Prejudice: Of which by itself.

And this leads me of Course to examine the Advantages of this Union, on the Mistakes of which farther Prejudices are grounded; and tho' I cannot enter into the particular and separate Advantages, till I come to examine the Heads of Commerce and the relative Consequences, with Respect to one another, and with Respect to our Neighbours:

I cannot but a little consider the general Advantages which both Nations shall obtain in the Conclusion of this happy Union, in order to open Peoples Eyes to their own Felicity, and to move our Posterity to bless us, for putting an End to the ruinous Distempers of both Nations.

I am not ignorant, that in all Cases it is Natural for Men to examine what Benefit, what Advantage shall fall to them by every thing they undertake? Nor is any Man that has consider'd, or discours'd in England of this Union, ignorant, that 'tis labour'd very diligently by some Men, to fill our common Peoples Mouths with this Question, - What shall We, *We English* man get by it? We don't doubt, but Scotland shall be the better by it, by being let into Trade, and let into our Manufactures, and let into all the Advantages of an *English* man; But what shall *we* get by it?

If then the ensuing Sheets open this Scene to the View of the People, and prove to the common Understanding, that the Advantages of this Union *shall be greater to England than to Scotland*, it must of Course, reconcile all unprejudic'd impartial People to the Union in general; and this Inference I purpse shall run through every Head of the ensuing Discourse.

And first, after which if I was name no more, it was sufficient to move us all to desire this Union, above all National Blessings, *the inestimable Advantage of General Peace*, a settled, a Perpetual Peace, a final End of Depredation, Ruin, Devastation and Blood; a National Friendship succeeding the most inveterate National Feuds, a general Tranquility following unsettled and precarious Circumstances; which has so often broke out into fire and destructive Wars, as has, at several times, been supposed to cost the Price of four Millions of the best Blood in *Christendom*.

Can either Nation, *if in their Wits*, say this is not a sufficient Advantage to make us desire this Union: Let us look back to the Fields of Bannocksbourn, Flodden, *Muscelborough*, and *Dunbar*, and see, if the Fountains of Blood opened at those fatal Places, merit not to be stop'd; and whether it is not the Wisdom of both Nations, to covet the preventing our Posterity running into the same Violence, and Excesses. Let the Nobility and Gentry, of both Nations, examine *the Line of their Families* back but a few Ages, and see what noble Branches of their Ancestors spilt their Blood on the desolate Borders, and how the Bones of their Noble Progenitors lie buried, blended with the Carcasses

of the common people, and buried in the Ditches of *both Countries*, by the Hands of the Conquerors.

Let the Curious look back into History, and tell me, what has been the Consequences to the Northern Countries of *England*, from above three Hundred formal Invasions of the *Scots* Armies? In some of which we have seen them on the Banks of the *Humber*; and in others, they have pierc'd even to the rich Valleys on the *Trent*; let them describe if they know how, the Ruin and Destruction of the Countrey, the Burnings, Plunderings, Rapes, and Violences, which in all Ages, are the Consequences of Armies ranging an open and defenceless Countrey: If they can find proper Epithets, (for I profess my self incapable,) let them represent in moving and suited Expressions, the Complaints of the distress'd Countrey, the Groans of the Murder'd Innocents, the Cries of the Widows and Mothers for their Husbands and Children, the Despair of flourishing Families, ruin'd and undone, with their Fields over run, their Barns and Houses plunder'd and burnt, their Cattle driven away, and their whole Substance destroy'd.

Why should these things be less present with us? for the Circumstances being remote *as to time*; unless we were *thoroughly assur'd* it should never fall out so again.

If it were thus now, or if it be possible to suppose these things acting upon the present Stage of this Nation, if we were to suppose a *Scotch* Army enter'd upon the Northern Countries, What would be the Language of the Inhabitants? What their Request to an *English* Parliament? Let him that cannot guess, look back no farther than to the Petition of the Country, in the Time of King *Charles* the 1st. when the *Scots* having given the *English* a Brush at the Passage at *Newnham* Bridge, possess'd themselves of *New Castle*, and all the best and richest of the Northern Parts of *England*;-- the Cry of the People was then, as it would be now and as is most Natural to suppose, *PEACE, PEACE*.

But some say, we are too strong for the *Scots* now, and there is no Fear that ever they shall invade our Countrey any more; for that our Wealth and Strength is so much encreased, that we are able to crush them presently, and can always keep the War out of our own Countrey, that as we are become more powerful, the *Scots* are become weaker, as we are richer, they are poorer than ever, and therefore the Case alters.

I shall speak more particularly to this, when I come to examine the separate Interests of both Nations; in which, perhaps it may be neces-

sary to make some Calculations, and compare Circumstances : And I only take Leave at present to assure the judicious, considering Reader of these Sheets, that even, comparing Circumstances, the *English* Nation has as much, or perhaps more, Reason to covet a lasting indissoluble Peace between the Nations, than the *Scots* ; and consequently, to press for a National Union, as the only way effectual to bring it to pass.

But I am now upon the *General only* in which, when I speak of Peace as to the Consequence of a General Union, methinks I should speak to the General Understanding of every Man : And without examining whether we have more need of Peace than the *Scots*,--- let me ask a few Questions.

[1 Have our Northern Countries got any thing by the long Intervals of Peace, which, for the last 150 Years, has, with some Interruption, been establish'd between the Nations ? Let any Man view the Borders, let them examine the Rents of the Lands in *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, and tell me, if they are not more than three times encreas'd in Value, besides the Differences in the general Value of things since the Battle of *Muscelborough*.

2. Is there any different Face uppn the Out-sides of things, since mutual Depredations laid and kept all things waste ? Are the *Scots* Borders waste ? so were Ours : Are ours Improv'd ? so might Theirs be : For I make no Question, the Countrey North by *Tweed* is as capable of Improvement, as that on the South of the same River : But as the present Difference is owing to another Cause, I shall treat of that by it self : only I say, and I make no Question to prove, had the Lands from *Berwick* to *Edinburgh* been under the same Tenantry, but under *English* Articles of possession, and Leases from the Landlord, as the Lands from *Berwick* to *New-castle*, they would have been equal in Value, both as to Landlord and Tenant, some few Mountains excepted, equally fruitful and pleasant ; and the unhappy Circumstances, Customs, and Constitution of *Scotland*, not the Want of Native Wealth, Fruitfulness of Soil, or Industrious Inhabitants, makes her a poor and barren Nation and which it is not yet too late to recover, whether this Union proceed or not.]

General National Peace, therefore, is a most desirable Article, and the greatest Advantage imaginable to both Nations : To this, to preserve what Wealth they have gain'd, and secur'd the flourishing condition they are arriv'd to ; To that, for recovering them from the Poverty

and Decay of their Affairs : to which they want nothing but Freedom of Circumstances, and Peace, as the only thing which made us rise without them.

If Peace then shall be the Consequence of this Union, never let any Man ask me, *What We shall gain by it?* We shall get the Security and quiet Possession of the Wealth and Improvements of our own Countrey, a thing which, *let us boast never so much of our Strength*, will be precarious, to manifest Hazares in Case of a War; and as our Circumstances in England may be, and our Hands full another way as they are now, may be impossible to defend.

I could here enter into the Inquiry of the strange *unproportioned Circumstances* of a War, if ever that unhappy time should come in England between the Nations; and tho' we flatter our selves with reducing the Scots by Force; and some *very weak Debates* have pass'd on both Sides upon that Head; yet to come closer to the Matter, I must beg Pardon to tell my Warlike Readers, that such People may understand, for ought I know, what belongs to fighting with the *French*, or, *which they had rather be at*, with the *Dutch*, or, *which most of all they would be glad of*, with ONE ANOTHER, but they seem not at all to understand what it is to fight with the SCOTS.

Perhaps therefore such will think these following Conclusions of mine strange Paradoxes, and for the present I shall leave them uninterpreted, not doubting, but knowing Men, on both Sides, will reach their Meaning, and for the rest I shall explain my self hereafter.

Supposing the present happy Temper of both Nations towards a Union, should, to all our Misfortunes, go off, and end as to me it seems inevitably necessary, in a bloody War between the Nations.

1. If the Scots should beat you, invade Northumberland, pierce even into Yorkshire, rout your Forces, destroy the Country, and the like, they would be undone.

2. If you invade Scotland, beat their Armies, traverse the Country, and driving the Scots to their inaccessible and Retreats, make what you call a Conquest, you are undone.

3. Every Victory you gain over them, in the Field, you are beaten, the Scots are Conquerors by it, and you Losers.

4. If you will keep an Army upon them, to maintain your Conquest, and keep them in Subjection, you make them, and they shall thank you.

5. At the end of every War. *they shall have the better of you*, it shall cost you more to hold them, than to gain them, and more to lose them again, *than both*.

There are more of these Paradoxes, which, in Time, I may enter upon the Explication of, and which, I doubt not, will be made plain to the Understandings of all those that can view Things with an impartial Judgment, and free from National Prejudices on either side, by which it will appear, the Advantages of this Union will be greater to the *English*, than to the *Scots*.

But to proceed about this Article of Peace, there is another Peace, which, tho' equally a Blessing, I doubt I am not talking to a People equally desirous of; and such is our Unhappiness, that it is the Fear of this Peace which, for ought I know, may be the greatest Obstruction to some Peoples Desire of a Union, and this is an Ecclesiastical Peace; a Peace of Religion, or, rather, a Church Peace.

I confess, I cannot but wonder at the Temper of those Christians, *they would be angry if I should not call them such*, who will have it be, that the Church of England, and the Church of Scotland, are Two Religions, or that the Nations profess Two Religions.

Such People, as first, they seem to know little what Religion means, and that it is indivisible in it self by any other Article than the Object of Religion, *so they will not understand*, that nothing can intitle any People to the Charge of professing a different Religion, but the Worship of a differing Deity.

But some People will have Breaches seem wider than they really are, in order to fright the Lovers of Union, from the Attempt of closing.

I could heartily wish there were no such Thing as a Difference in the Opinions of Christians, worshiping the same Original Author and Maker of all Things; professing the same Faith in the same Redeemer; the same Hope, and on the same Terms with one another: But the Wisdom of inscrutable Providence, whose End in it 'tis neither possible nor needful for us to know. has even from the Beginning of the Christian Religion in the World, permitted it to be otherwise, and who are we, that we should pretend to dispute it with him.

Perhaps these Things are suffer'd in the Church of Christ, for the Exercise of the Charity, Forbearance, and mutual Temper of Christians, to prevent worse Inconveniencies, which from the Pride of Prosperity the Power and Glory of an united Church, might, in Conjunction with
Human

Human Infirmary, have risen in the World; but whether this is a rational Conjecture or no, 'tis manifest, that these Offences must come, and tho' I will not subjoin the Text, *Woe be to him by whom they come*, I cannot refrain saying, *Woe be to him by whom they are wilfully increased and continued*.

But to proceed, for I desire to abridge the most needful Digressions, as much as possible, as to them that desire to widen our Church Breaches, God in his Mercy open their Eyes to judge better of Things, and to be more concern'd for the Peace of their Native Country on both Sides, *and there I leave them*, as a Sort of Incorrigibles, capable of no other Conviction than what shall proceed from the irresistible Force of an invisible Worker of as great Miracles as these, *and loe I turn to the Christians*, for these can hardly merit that Name.

To you, *Gentlemen of both Nations*, that desire to see the Protestant Churches of Britain flourish, that desire to see the Union of the Body; *under One united Head*, join'd in Charity, Forbearance, and Love; *that the zealous for Christian Liberty*, as well as Civil Liberty, and that would rejoice to see differing Establishments, agree to go Hand in Hand, *the direct Road to Heaven*; you cannot but covet this Union; you cannot but foresee it will remove all the secret Grudgings, Repinings and Jealousies between two Nations. of whom never was Scripture better adapted to the Circumstances of both, than that of Abraham to Lot, *Let not Strife be between us, for we are Brethren*, Gen. 13. 8.

Would then those Gentlemen, who cry out of Persecution and Severities exercis'd upon their Episcopal Brethren in Scotland, *tho' those Things are far less true than have been suggested*, would they obtain a settled legal Tolleration in Scotland for Episcopal Dissenters, founded on the Charity and Tenderness to them, on the part of the Government, and their peaceable, obedient and Christian Behaviour and Submission to the Laws on their Part, Things on which all Christian Governments do depend, *this would effect it*.

Establishments, and National Churches, are here fixt on both Hands, and 'tis the farther establishing and fortifying those Settlements, *not the exposing them to change or invasion on either Hand*, which is the Principle End of all the Religious Part of a Union.

As for those People who expect the Scots to rescind their Settlement; restore a Church Government which they do not approve of, and subvert National Principles to Foreign Constitution, they shew indeed their

Zeal for their own opinion, *but not their Sense of the Circumstances of both Nations*, in which unalterable Establishments, both Civil and Religious, are already consented to, by the Legislature of each Kingdom; nor do these People seem to understand what the Union we are upon means; 'tis no Way the Business of a Union, **TO ALTER**, but **TO CON. FIRM**, secure, and render impregnable, the present Settlements of both Kingdoms, that when we come to live as Brethren, under One Administration, there may be a *Noli me tangere* plac'd upon these Things, and they may be capable of no Invasion, Alteration, or Dissolution, either by the Power of the Strongest, or the Concessions of the Weakest.

The Constitutions and Establishment of Religious Matters, being thus settled, made Sacred and inviolable, a thoro' effectual legal Tolleration of *Orthodox Opinions* dissenting from the Establishments in either Kingdom, will be an *Alternative* which no Christian Member on either Side will debate, being a Debt from One Kingdom to the Other, and from Both, to the Weakness and good Meaning of their fellow Christians: as also a due Homage paid to the *Sovereignty of Conscience*, which is, and ought to remain free and unimp'd upon in all Things, the general Subjection to the Being and Authority of our Maker, and acknowledgment of him by religious Worship only preserv'd and supported.

Shall any Man say to me, these Things are not Advantages sufficient to move us, on both Sides to a sincere *Concurrence in*, and *Pursuit of* a National Union: What shall they have to object, when all our Religious, or rather Irreligious Feuds shall die, and be buried under the *Immortal Column* of National Establishment and Legal Tolleration; when Envy and Invasion shall be render'd impracticable, and the Doors be barr'd and secur'd by the Locks and Bolts of the Law, against all manner of Divisions that can be any Way fatal to the general Harmony of the whole; when the Nations shall be united in *nothing wherein they ought to differ*, and differ in *nothing wherein they ought to unite*, when they shall unite in Affection, where they cannot unite in Opinion, and never differ in Charity, tho' they may differ in Judgment.

And I cannot but note here one Observation of my own: As a Man that is safely landed on a firm & high Rock, out of the Reach of threatening Waves, by which he was in Danger of Shipwrack, surveys the distant Dangers with Inexpressible Satisfaction, from both the Sense of his own Security, and the more clear Discovery of the Reality of the Hazards he had run, which perhaps he did not perfectly see before.

So it will not only be an inexpressible Pleasure to us to look back and see the Dangers we shall be delivered from in both Nations, when this happy Union shall once be obtained; but we shall then, with Astonishment, see plainly such Rocks, such Shelves, and such inevitable Gulphs of Destruction avoided, as our keenest Understanding will not permit us now to imagine possible.

I have heard that when the *Spanish Armada* in 1588 was, after all our fabulous Stories of Sir Fra Drake, and his Wonders, by the meer Hand of Providence, Storm and Tempest, more than our Opposition, dispersed, scatter'd, and by various Disasters render'd useless to the Design, and the Expedition overthrown; Q. Elizabeth was often heard to say, that had they enter'd the Mouth of the Thames, and had been joyn'd by the Duke of Parma from Flanders, who lay ready to come over with 30000 Men of the best Troops the World ever saw England must have submitted, and she had been undone, and her Majesty own'd she saw more of the Danger then, after they were beaten than she did before.

I have not Room to prove here that the Queen's Observation was just, which any that knows the History of those Times, that the D. of Parma who was one of the greatest Generals, and the Spanish Troops then the best Soldiers of that Age; and that the Queen's Forces were all raw, undisciplin'd, new rais'd and rather Crowds of Militia, than a real Army, will readily join in it.

But my Observation is from the Queen's reflecting back on this more particularly after the Danger was over, and the Nation delivered than before.

And I firmly believe, if ever this happy Union of the Nations comes to a Conclusion, those Gentlemen that talk very lightly of it now, and seem rather willing to keep open the Breach than to close it, will see things with a different Aspect, will have their Opticks extended, and see the Gulphs and Precipices, which they, blinded by Ignorance and Prejudices, are now willing to push the Nations upon, not having Reach enough to discern the Danger.

But to go on with our Head of Advantages from a National Union.

3. *Safety and Security*: And by this Head I do not mean barely against one another, and the many unhappy Consequences of the present precarious Circumstances of both Nations, as they respect future War or Peace, but I mean also the mighty Additions of Strength and Secur-

ty against any Foreign Enemy, when the Power of both Nations is twisted together, and interwoven one with another, by their mutual Interests; and in this I must be allowed to say, without the least Partiality, that the Advantage is *wholly on Englands Side*, whose Power is by the Addition of *Scotland* so fortify'd, that it must be her own Fault, if she does not make a different Figure in all the Affairs of *Europe*, to what she ever did before.

Some have the ill Nature to object here, that this Union will enrich *Scotland*, which they think no *Advantage to England*; but if *Scotland* shall now become a Branch of *England*, and we are no more divided into Kingdoms and Governments, but make one united Government of *Great Britain*: *Whose shall be the Wealth?* And when shall the Consequences of that Accession terminate?

When I come to discuss the Articles of Trade, I shall make it evident, (1.) That indeed *Scotland* shall grow rich, and so they may without a Union, if you will do them Justice, and they pursue the just Advantages Nature and Providences distate to them. (2.) That their Riches shall not be our Poverty, nor their Encrease any way interrupt or interfere with Ours, but rather add to it.

Suppose then the Scots to grow rich by the Union, what shall be the Consequence but this, among a thousand others, that their Lands shall obtain Improvements; and both these shall end in keeping their numerous Hands at home?

And whose shall be the Advantage of keeping those Thousands of People at home, which now fill the Armies, and spread the Colonies of all the Nations in *Europe*?

If the Wealth and Strength of a Nation consists in the Multitude of its Inhabitants, what Addition of Strength shall it be to this Nation, when the Scots shall be kept at home, and tempted by the Profits of their Labour to stay where they can live easy; which they would always do, if they could; and if so shall for ever after be your Assistants and Defenders, bound by the Bonds of their own Interest.

Men never seek their Bread by Arms, nor by travelling into Foreign Countries, generally speaking, till some sort of Hardships, Want, or other Uneasiness renders them a little desperate, and living hardly at home, they find themselves under Necessity of going abroad to avoid the Meanesses and Difficulties they meet with in their own Countrey.

Improvements of Land, Application to Manufactures, Encrease of

Trade, Fishing, Shipping and the like, will certainly produce this Effect to *Scotland*, that it will keep their People at home. Of which by it self

And whole shall the Advantages of their Numbers be? To whom shall their Duty, their Power, and their Encrease of all kinds revolve but to the Advantage of *England*?

Some People have had the Vanity to say, We are in *England* a Match for the whole World; and our Naval Strength will defend us against all Invasion; *I pray God we may never find Occasion to put this to the Trial*: But without doubt, were *Scotland* effectually united to *England* peopled, improv'd, and strengthn'd, as it may and ought to be, it would in time more than double our Strength, and perhaps, at last, we might be an Over match for any single Nation in the World.

We do not indeed seek or expect an immediate Addition of Wealth by a Union with the Scots, *tho' some are very Fond of making the Scots seem poorer than they are.*

But Additions of Strength are very good Equivalents, and very material to us, and as useful to preserve, as our Trade is to encrease our Wealth. What is it we fight for now in *Europe*? Not for Money, not to encrease our Wealth, *but to preserve that we have already got*: If an Addition of *Scotland* does not encrease our Wealth, *tho' I do not grant that neither*, if it does fortify us to keep and defend what we have already, 'tis an Article no wise Man will despise.

Scotland is an inexhaustable Treasure of Men, as may be demonstrated by the vast Numbers they have in our Armies and Navy, and in the Armies of the *Swede*, the *Pole*, the *Muscovite*, the *Emperor*, *Holland*, and *France*, *what might not England now do*, had she in her Pay all the Scots. actually in the Service of these Princes, where they are daily cutting one anothers Throats; and at the Expence of their Country's Impoverishment, gain the empty Reputation of being the best Soldiers in the World.

This is a Treasure beyond the *Indies*, and what few People know how to value; and it has hitherto been our Happiness, that the Scots are thus dispeopled and impoverish'd; for had the Scots been as rich as they are populous, had they been as well furnish'd with the Sinews, as they have been with the Humour of War, had they as much Money as Men, and as much Design upon us, as Courage and Bravery to execute, we should long ago have sought this Union more eagerness than we fancy they seek it now.

'Tis therefore, without doubt, our Interest to secure these Advantages now, the Particulars of which I shall enter upon when I come to our course of Improvements in Trade.

There are innumerable Advantages, which I cannot touch here, on the Scots Sides, as the Increase of the Estates and Freeholds of the Nobility and Gentry, the Increase of their Trade, and the bringing their Country into a perfectly new Posture, both as to the Way and Manner of Living, Thriving and growing Rich; not to talk of their Fishing Trade, which is an India at their own Door, a Treasure sent them from Heaven, which they cannot be long so weak, to let another Nation rob them of, as hitherto they have done.

Thus Peace, both Civil and Religious, Safety, Strength, and by Consequence, the Increase both of Trade and Wealth are the immediate general Advantages of this Union to both Nations.

3. I think there should seem but small Occasion, after all this to enter upon the Necessity of this Union to either Nation: Advantages are real Necessities, and it may very properly be said, We cannot be without that, which we cannot be without but to our great Loss & Inconvenience.

I have not touch'd the Article of the Succession yet, nor have I room for it here. I am fully of Opinion, and believe I reflect on neither, if I say, The Consequence of the present Dispute between the Nations, must be a firm effectual Union, or an open declar'd Rupture; and I would only tell those Gentlemen, who too hastily declare for the latter, that I could bring a great many Reasons to prove, that if ever this Matter should break out into a War, it will be the most Bloodie, implacable and cruel, that ever happen'd between the Nations.... The Scots are poor, and that may be allow'd beyond what we pretend to; but there are such Circumstances attending Scotland, and which render her a Nation which the other Powers of Europe will so gladly espouse, that we have unforeseen Events to encounter with in such a Breach; and they judge with small Discretion, that pretend to account for the Consequences: But I hope this Head is needless to enlarge upon.

I shall conclude this Tract, which I design chiefly as an Introduction to the Work, and useful to prepare the Minds of the People to entertain the grateful Notion of General Union, with laying down the Scheme of my farther Design, in which, if I have leisure to pursue it, I shall attempt to examine the Terms of Union, which the Nature of Things and Circumstances of both the Nations seem to lead us directly upon.

I shall not undertake to examine the imperfect Schemes of other Men, nor assume the Vanity of being arriv'd to a perfection in my own: I know there are Difficulties in a thing so Nice; and where Prerogatives and Priviledges, both of Prince and People, seem to clash; where Emulations in Families, Honours, Trade and Circumstances of State seem immovable and Differences and Animosities of Religion and Parties have run high.

But a Propensity in both Sides to Union; a Sense of mutual Advantages, and a View of the absolute Necessity of a Union, will remove abundance of these Difficulties.

Trifles must not stand in the Way of superior Peace, and Things are justly called Trifles, with respect to Nations, and the weighty Concerns of the Blood of Ages, that otherwise in themselves considerable.

I know some People are very fond of what they call a Federal Union, and abundance of Considerations move them to it, tho' I believe the greatest Reason most of them can give, is, because they cannot see thro' another, and think a general, intire, or incorporate Union impracticable, or at least, that they think both Nations will not come up to it.

I shall prescribe nothing, but endeavour to show how both are feasible, and lay open the Articles of either, as plain as I can.

The HEADS now to be treated of, with respect to this Union, I take to be Three, RELIGION STATE and TRADE; and if in all these, I can by Enquiry, find out such Mediums as may, to the mutual Advantages of both Nations, amount to Settlement, I cannot But think we ought not to fall out about the Enquiry, Whether those Advantages may seem to be more to one Nation than another.

And should that be the unkind Debate, the Gentlemen that raise it, will have this misfortune, that in all the Three Articles mentioned, the Ballance of Advantage shall turn on our Side, and against their pretended Exceptions, which I make no question to prove, even in the Article of TRADE it self, in which some People are so very clamorous.

FINIS.

A N E S S A Y

At Removing National Prejudices, &c,

PART II.

I N the first Part of this Work I attempted to prove the unreasonableness of the Common National Prejudices, which seem to have been taken

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I have not touch'd the Article of the Succession yet, nor have I room for it here. I am fully of Opinion, and believe I reflect on neither, if I say, The Consequence of the present Dispute between the Nations, must be a firm effectual Union, or an open declar'd Rupture; and I would only tell those Gentlemen, who too hastily declare for the latter, that I could bring a great many Reasons to prove, that if ever this Matter should break out into a War, it will be the most Bloodie, implacable and cruel, that ever happen'd between the Nations.... The Scots are poor, and that may be allow'd beyond what we pretend to; but there are such Circumstances attending Scotland, and which render her a Nation which the other Powers of Europe will so gladly espouse, that we have unforeseen Events to encounter with in such a Breach; and they judge with small Discretion, that pretend to account for the Consequences: But I hope this Head is needless to enlarge upon.

I shall conclude this Tract, which I design chiefly as an Introduction to the Work, and useful to prepare the Minds of the People to entertain the grateful Notion of General Union, with laying down the Scheme of my farther Design, in which, if I have leisure to pursue it, I shall attempt to examine the Terms of Union, which the Nature of Things and Circumstances of both the Nations seem to lead us directly upon.

I shall not undertake to examine the imperfect Schemes of other Men, nor assume the Vanity of being arriv'd to a perfection in my own: I know there are Difficulties in a thing so Nice; and where Prerogatives and Priviledges, both of Prince and People, seem to clash; where Emulations in Families, Honours, Trade and Circumstances of State seem immovable and Differences and Animosities of Religion and Parties have run high.

But a Propensity in both Sides to Union; a Sense of mutual Advantages, and a View of the absolute Necessity of a Union, will remove abundance of these Difficulties.

Trifles must not stand in the Way of superior Peace, and Things are justly called Trifles, with respect to Nations, and the weighty Concerns of the Blood of Ages, that otherwise in themselves considerable.

I know some People are very fond of what they call a Federal Union, and abundance of Considerations move them to it, tho' I believe the greatest Reason most of them can give, is, because they cannot see thro' another, and think a general, intire, or incorporate Union impracticable, or at least, that they think both Nations will not come up to it.

I shall prescribe nothing, but endeavour to show how both are feasible, and lay open the Articles of either, as plain as I can.

The HEADS now to be treated of, with respect to this Union, I take to be Three, RELIGION STATE and TRADE; and if in all these, I can by Enquiry, find out such Mediums as may, to the mutual Advantages of both Nations, amount to Settlement, I cannot But think we ought not to fall out about the Enquiry, Whether those Advantages may seem to be more to one Nation than another.

And should that be the unkind Debate, the Gentlemen that raise it, will have this misfortune, that in all the Three Articles mentioned, the Ballance of Advantage shall turn on our Side, and against their pretended Exceptions, which I make no question to prove, even in the Article of TRADE it self, in which some People are so very clamorous.

FINIS.

A N E S S A Y

At Removing National Prejudices, &c,

PART II.

I N the first Part of this Work I attempted to prove the unreasonableness of the Common National Prejudices, which seem to have been taken;

taken too fast hold of the People of these Nations, and that stand in the way of the Common Opinion about a Union.

There is nothing more Fatal to a General Union, than to have Peoples Minds prepossess'd with the Difficulties or Disadvantages of the thing itself; and I cannot therefore think it improper to go on with this Work a little farther, to remove, if possible, the very Root and Causes of these Prejudices, which I say Obstruct the Happy Conjunction now in View--- and these I take to be compris'd in the two words just mentioned above *viz: Difficulties and Disadvantages.*

When Men either think on one hand, 'tis so difficult a Task, that they shall never get thro' it, or on the other hand, that if they do get thro' it, it will not be their Advantage, no wonder if they go coldly about it, or seem unconcern'd at the event.

I take the Commissioners, who are to Treat of this Union, perhaps in a different Manner or Capacity from what some People take them in; I do not take them as Gentlemen come together from two Nations at Variance, entering into a Confederation of Amity, and so are struggling and wrangling with one another to get the best Terms they can, to each others advantage,

But I look upon the two Nations as intentionally United into one Body, already fix'd, and resolv'd to be from hence forward one People; and the Gentlemen come together to settle such Articles of Mutual Friendship and Coalition, as may be most effectually conducive to the Ease, Safety, Prosperity and general Satisfaction of both, being now to be considered as one.

I look upon any thing Grievous, any thing particularly Burthensome or Disadvantageous to either side, which may render the Union afterwards uneasy or disadvantageous to one more than the other, ought to be the especial Care of Both Parties to prevent, that all Complaining and Dissatisfaction may be Anticipated.

Every thing that is especially Disadvantageous to either side, is to be given up to the other; every thing particularly Burthensome to either side is to be removed for them, by the other, that these two Twin Nations may become one United *English* Empire, resolv'd into one Form of Government, one Interest, one Body Politick, under one Head, one Administration, one Representative, and Strengthened by one United Body of Power; a Power thereby so Encreas'd, and in itself not only Impregnable, but Formidable to the whole World.

In forming this Union, either side cheerfully brings her part, without Examining which contributes most to the Work, or Repining at the seeming inequalities; nor are those inequalities so great, as some who are Enemies to this Union would suggest; of which I shall hereafter enlarge.

Here is Wealth to Enrich, there is Strength to Defend; here Money to Pay, there Hands to Fight; here a Country Improv'd, there a Country to Improve; here a Nation grown opulent by Trade, there a Nation, which let into Trade, will be in time as Rich and Opulent, and in Proportion, as much improv'd as they.

Nor shall their Increase be our Decrease, but just the contrarary; and I doubt not to make it appear, that not only *England* shall gain by this Union, as a Nation United, but at a Nation Separate; That the Center of Trade, and the Center of Government being all here, all the Wealth that *Scotland* shall accrue by Improvement, shall Circulate thro' the Capital, and *London* shall still remain the Center of the Wealth of the whole Island.

I shall go on to prove, That the Improvement of *Scotland* shall every way be the Improvement of *England*, the Encrease of their Manufactures shall no way interfere with ours, but almost infinite variety of Trade, in its Funds and Branches shall encrease, to the general Wealth, and mutual enriching of each other.

In this Union here are Lands and People added to the *English* Empire; these are the two Essential Parts, of Strength, these for Improvement for Trade, for War, for every Publick National Advantage, are our own; the *Scott* being encourag'd to Industry, and enrich'd by Trade and Manufactures, shall dwell at home, and encrease; the vast Numbers that now fill the Armies, and straggle about the Countries of our Neighbour-Princes, shall then stay at home, and living easy, shall increase in Number, and form the Wealth and Strength of *Britain* to a Magnitude too great to be modestly Calculated.

The numbers that go abroad shall People our Colonies, and extend our Borders on the Continent of *America*, a Part of that World which this Nation has room in, to grow equally populous and terrible to what they are at home, and whose growing Wealth is all our own, and can never be thought too great.

It is impossible *Britain* should have too many People, were 3 Millions of Strangers to come over hither, and settle: nay, tho' they brought nothing

nothing with them but their Hands, they would add to our National Wealth, as from the Labour of those People and Expence for Necessaries the General Stock would be encreased, the Growth of our Land expended, and our Manufactures made use of.

Under these Heads of Increase, the Union of this Nation, or Island, in time will be such an Encrease of Wealth and Strength as can admit of no Description, and as the seeming interfering Difficulties now talk'd of, bear no manner of Proportion to.

It is therefore certain the Gentlemen now treating of this happy Conjunction, if their Eyes shall be so far opened to the Publick Good, shall strive with one another to remove every Difficulty, to lessen every Burthen, and to study to make this Union at first as agreeable, as it shall at last be profitable to the whole Body,

In order to this, the Design of this second Tract is to level some of the Mountains that stand in the middle between this Union, and which seem upon a remote view to be so unpassable in their Situation, that they should interrupt our happy Meeting, represent it as impracticable or seem by their stupendous Heighth to hide from our Eyes, the real Advantages of the Proposed Conjunction.

Difficulties, like Dangers, often look greater at a remote than at a near View: distant Objects are seen by the help of Art, and often represent themselves in Figures different from what they really are; as an Island in the Sea at first appears a rough heap of Craggy Rocks or Mountains, which threaten the Pilot with Shipwreck if he Approaches; but when he comes naerer, he discovers open Harbours. Navigable Rivers, a fruitful pleasant Country, and a hospital be trading People, and then he is invited in to Exchange his Merchandizes and make a happy Voyage.

Let us therefore descend to a nearer View of Union; we have hitherto talk'd at a distance, and strange Mountains of Difficulties have presented themselves; let us come close up to the matter; let us view things as they are, and not as they seem only; and let us see if perhaps these things may not upon a nearer View appear to be quite different from what we thought them to be.

If I understand what we are meaning, when we talk of Union, I understand it in the utmost Construction of that extensive Word--- understand an entire Coalition or Incorporation of two different Bodies into one, as compleatly every way; and to all Intents and and Purposes

as has been formerly settled between the Kingdom of *England*, and the Principalities of *Wales*; that we shall for the future be one indivisible Community, conjoyned in every possible Article and Circumstance; so as to have for the future but one Politick General Interest; be Brethren in Blood and Nation, Brethren in Possession, Prospect and Power.

What Reserves are made, are no more Obstructions to this healing Union, than the Men of *Wales* reserving their Language, was an Obstruction to their Coalition with *England*. The Religion and Civil Administration of Justice in *Scotland*, are no more concern'd in this Matter, than the *Popish* Religion and Methods of Justice reserv'd in *Lancashire* and *Durham*, have been Obstructions to their being annex'd to the *English* Government, and made Provinces thereof.

The Island will be One, the Government One, the Treasure one One, the Military Power One; their general Commerce undivided and in Common, their Laws and Customs reserv'd to every part by the Regulations of their own Priviledges, but under the Direction of one Legislature and Representative.

As to Religious Matters, the Ballance is exact, the Alternative harmonious, each Establishment preserv'd, general Charity maintain'd, the Church of *England* free and uninvaded in *England*, the Presbyterian Church of *Scotland* free and unenvy'd in *Scotland*; Episcopacy here, Presbyterie there, and Toleration universal: Church of *England* Men ruling here, and submitting without Oppression there; Presbyterians ruling there, and submitting here without Reproach or Persecution.

They that are afraid indeed of such a Harmony, and who dare not unite, not their Principle only but their Cause suffers some Scandal; since to me it must pass for a Maxim, That Peace is such a heavenly Gift, that where it is inconsistent with any Party, People, Cause or Circumstance, that Foundation is founded upon something else than Heaven, and favours of a Spirit wholly Infernal.

This is the present Union we are upon, nor can *England* agree to receive the *Scot* upon any other Foot; for any Union that should leave a possibility of a return to it's first Condition, would be incongruous to the present Design, and disadvantageous to *England*.

England expects by this Union, Safety, Peace and mutual Assistance from *Scotland*, in Point of defending the Wealth she enjoys; *Scotland* expects Helps in Trade, Assistance to improve her Lands, employ her People, encrease her Fishery, Shipping, and the like; one seeks to gain, the other to keep what she has gain'd.

If *Scotland* by a partial Union shall answer her End, grow Rich, Opulent and Formidable, and when She is so, be empower'd to break with us, and go off; they are then Gainers by us, and we no Gainers by them; because we are reduc'd by the Breach, tho the same Circumstances we were in before the Union, they have better'd themselves and cannot be said to be reduc'd; because they will then be better able to support their Independency than they are now.

This to me seems to just an Objection against what some call a federal Union, and the Scheme whereof they are very fond of, that I cannot but wonder to hear such a Proposal should come from any *English* Man.

Will therefore they can remove the Inequality, which upon a Determination of such a Union, shall lye hard on the side of the *English*, and prove the *Scots* can never break it to their Advantage and our Prejudice I cannot think their Schemes worth examining, since to me they seem calculated not to make a Union; but to break it off; and disappoint both Nations of the present good Issue, which they expect from this Treaty.

I shall therefore suppose it out of Doubt, that there can no Union be Treated of between the Nations, but what shall be an entire Incorporation of Principles: I mean a becoming one Body in all the public Capacities of both Kingdoms.

In Treating of the Methods to bring this to pass, I know no better way, than if possible, to state the Circumstances of both Nations, and bring them to a Balance, for certainly while the Inequalities of things remain, there can be no fair Coalition, one Side or other would be Aggrieved; that would be to jumble Circumstances, huddle all things together, and by the clashing of Interests, Inequality of Particulars, and uncouth jarring of Causes and Consequences, would instead of uniting two Nations, put them into all manner of National Confusions.

To bring a Union of clashing Interests therefore to pass, I humbly conceive a Balance of Circumstances must be the Basis to build upon, in which if I do not exactly pursue, every Man, or perhaps any Man that has gone before me, I pray their pardon, since 'tis effecting the Union, not imitating of any Man however superiour in Judgment, or experience to me, that is the Mark to be aim'd at; and this I shall pursue, with the same Sincerity that I wish it accomplish'd.

To bring the Balance of Circumstances upon the Stage, it must be necessary to enter into the several Inequalities in which the two Kingdoms now stand, with respect to one another, and see if we can even things as we go.

The principal Heads of Inequality I take to be Wealth, Trade, Religion, and Civil Power; I hope no Body will Cavil at my Order of ranking them, and putting Religion behind the Wealth and Trade, I speak to it last, as that which I believe there will be at least Occasion for Dispute about; not but that if I had said, perhaps those that Cavil most at this Union, are not the most concern'd for the religious Part of it, I might have said true enough.

In stating the Wealth of the two Nations, we are to examine if possible, the Proportions of either side, and without running into the several true Reasons of the Poverty of one Nation, and the Riches of the other, which tho' it is a Study would furnish large Subjects of Speculation, yet as not exactly suited to the present Enquiry; I wave with only this short Hint, *viz.*

Scotland has felt more the Weight of the Arbitrary Despotick Tyranny of their Princes, which We all had such Reason to fear; the Neglect or Oppression of their Subjects, joyn'd to some unreasonable Disadvantages of another sort, and all added to an unhappy Constitution, between the Gentry and the Commonalty, have form'd a Complication of Circumstances which have kept her declining in Wealth, for above a 100 Years past.

England at the same time, has visibly increas'd in Trade, Wealth, People, Colonies, and every thing that adds to the Opulence and Abundance of a Nation in a rising Posture before.

So that without Vanity on one hand, or insulting on the other, there is a vast disparity of Circumstances between the Kingdoms; and tho' in former Estimations, *Scotland* may have been valued with respect to *England*, as one to Seventeen, and some have drawn Schemes from that foot; I think there are so many Reasons to be given for *England's* rising in Value, and *Scotland's* sinking more than its Proportion, that it must be own'd no Judgment can be made from these former Calculations.

In Order therefore to form regular Calculations of the Wealth of *Scotland*, as at the same time go hand in hand with the Articles of a Union; I shall begin with the Head of Taxes, which must be most concern'd in these Calculations, and which I must say, I believe to be the most difficult point of the Treaty, at least it has most room for Debates on both hands:

Some Gentlemen in *England* have made Calculations from the Taxes in the old Parliament Union; when O. Cromwel having reduc'd *Scotland*

land by Arms, Incorporated into one Body with this Nation; and by this Incorporation they are Rated at 6000 *l* per Month in their Land Tax, when England was rated 70000 *l* per Month.

Tho' it also appears by the same Calculator, that Scotland paid this 6000 *l* per Month, when England paid but 35000 *l* per Month.

Now I would gladly apply this Calculation to our present Case, before I enter upon Stating our present Proportions, that our grand Enquiry about an Equality of Taxes, may be the plainer to enter upon.

Our Land Tax, in time of War, at 4 *s* per *l* is suppos'd two Millions Sterling.

The Scots paying 6000 to our 35000 per Month, which is something less than a sixth part, not to trouble the Reader with Fractions, by the same Rule in two Millions per Annum, which our Land Tax raises, they must be chargeable with 333333. 6. 8 per Annum, Land Tax.

If you return from this Arbitrary difference which Oliver Cromwel and his Parliament made, which, as is observ'd was, in consideration that England had for divers Years past, been at almost all the Expence of War; Still at the former Calculation, Scotland would in a four Shilling Aid, pay half the Sum, viz 166666. 13. 4 per Annum.

Now to examine the Rents of each Kingdom, what must this Amount to, the Annual Rents of Lands in Scotland, must by the first Calculation, amount to One Million, Six Hundred, Sixty Six Thousand, Six Hundred, Sixty Six Pound Thirteen and Four Pence Sterling per Annum, and by the last Calculation just half the Money.

Both which Sums are far wide of the Fact, and far beyond what Scotland is able to raise.

But this is by the way.

I am now come to the Grand Question, Whether in case of a Union, and an Equality between the Kingdoms, there ought not to be an Equality of Burthens; and without any Hesitations, I agree readily, it must certainly be so.

But then it remains to make some needful Enquiry into what we mean by Equality.

All Equalities must be Subjected to Proportion, or else Confusion would spread over every step we take. I need not enter, I presume, into the Particulars, or form a Philosophical System of Equality; if an Army Marches charg'd with their own Baggage, if every Man carries Burthen proportioned to his strength, tho' the strong Man has a heavy load, and the weak Man a light, the distribution is equal. *When*

Wherefore 'tis plain, and all our Calculators allow, a Numerical or Arithmetical Equality cannot be meant here. -- It must then be Geometrical, or proportioned Equality.

How then say some, Shall we come to a true state of Proportion? I answer, This is the Hare we are Hunting, and tho I may beat a hawk now and then, I perswade my self I shall make it out at last, and finally run her down in view.

I begin with the Land Tax -- and here I meet with an Objection which I do not find any body has started yet.

You talk of Proportions and Equalities, Pray why shou'd not the Scots pay equal to us in their Land Tax, since all is paid upon a Net Rent the poverty of the Country is not concerned in it, 20 s. in Scotland is as good as 20 s. in England, and better too, because Money is dearer there, and living is much cheaper, he that has 100 l. Sterling in Scotland, can much better pay 4 s. in the Pound out of it, than he that has 100 l. a Year in England, 4 s. is no more in one Place than another, since nobody pays it but he that has the Fund in Rent to pay it from.

This Objection is weighty, and has more in it than any I have yet met with, and therefore I think requires some Answer. There are some Reasons, and I think very good ones; why the Scots should not be Tax'd at 4 s. per l. upon their Rents, when we are so Tax'd, and I shall first offer them in General, before I come to enquire what Proportions are reasonable in this Case.

I am not all Pleading here for the Scots abstracted, or for an abatement of Taxes to them. I allow 20 s. is 20 s. there or here, and ought to bear an equal Burthen in the whole, but I am arguing for Justice and Equality; if we will not prepare our selves to bear with the Proportions that these things allow, we shall not do Justice; and if we will not do Justice, we can never come to a Union.

1. A Numerical Equality can not be Just in the Land Tax to the Scots, because really speaking, our Land Tax it self is not equally ass'd, it bears no Conformity to its Title, and would, if literally Executed, be the greatest Piece of Injustice and Inequality in the World to Scotland, and perfectly ruine that Nation.

'Tis known to all that understand these things, that the Scots way of Collecting their Taxes, is rigorous and exact, and if 4 s. per l. was laid by Parliament upon the whole Island, their Assessments would *bona fide* be 4 s. per l. upon the Rack Rent of all their Lands.

'Tis as well known, that 4 s. per l. in *England*, is a Lion's Face upon an Ass's Head, and the Ears are so plain to be seen, that it serves now for a meer *Priapus*, a Scarecrow without any Effect, for it never puts the Assessors out of their old road, but they Assess according to the old Rates, and every County being Rated in the very body of the Act, the Title is *Ipso Facto* repeal'd, since if the Lands, &c. of that Country will raise the Money by an Assessment of 1 s. 6 d. per Pound, and 'tis known some do for less, the Law is satisfied, and the End answered:

Now to Tax *Scotland* at 4 s. per l. upon her Net Rent, and Tax our own Northern and Western Counties, but at so much Money, which they can raise by a Proportion of 16 d. to 20 d. at most per l. would be such a piece of injustice, as I should be ashamed for my Native Country to see them insist upon.

'Tis plain, that you must Tax *Scotland* not by your Pound Rate, but at a Proportioned Summ, as your own Countries are Tax'd; and leave them to the Division of it, to raise it as they see fit, and this I call a Geometrical Equality, and this I shall say no more to, when that Proportioned Summ comes to be spoken of.

II. The Sum charg'd upon Lands in *England* after it is levied and raised from the Tenant, stands charg'd with large Deductions and charges, upon the Levying, Collecting and Receiving; and those Charges, if my Calculations are right, amount to little less than 9 d. per l. upon the Money receiv'd besides publick Losses by the Insolvency of Receivers and their Securities, which oftentimes runs deep into the Money; & which tho they cannot be brought into an exact Account. Yet I think put all together, 12 d. per Pound may at least very well be Charg'd upon the whole, as an Off Reckoning or Discount upon the Money, between the Collection and the Exchequer.

This 12 d. per Pound upon the Money Collected is 2 d. ² per Pound upon all the Rents in *England*, and amounts in Two Millions of Money, to a Hundred Thousand Pound Sterling.

Now as on the other hand, the *Scots* Collect all their Tax at their own Charges, clear of all Losses, Deficiencies or Defalcations, and pay it in Nett to the Exchequer or Publick Treasure, to Charge them by the same Numerical Equality, which you Charge *England* by, would be to make them pay their Taxes clear of Charge, and bear part of the Expence and loss in Collecting ours.

III. Differing Customs and Manners of paying Rent and letting out Lands

Lands in the two Kingdoms, make a Numerical Equality Impracticable In *England* the Rents are paid in Money, in *Scotland* they are, generally speaking, paid in Kind, or Vittle as they call it: Now tho' tis true this may, and is in some respect brought to a Head by a General Valuation, yet, with this Difference, against a *Scots* Landlord to an *English* viz. that the *Scots* Landlord stays two Terms, and runs two Risques in his receiving the Rent of his Land.

First he stays the Term agreed to receive of his Tenant, and secondly he Trusts the Merchant a second Term, to whom he sells the Produce he receives of his Tenant; in the same Sense he runs two Hazards; one in the Solvency of the Tenant, and the other of the Merchant; which makes a considerable Difference in the essential value of the Rent and consequently of the Purchase of such an Estate; and tho' the Purchase or real value of Lands in *Scotland* may not come into this Dispute; yet I must tell my Reader, that were an Estate let in *England* to pay the Rent in kind, it would sell for much less than an Estate of the same Value paid in Specie nor would it be Tax'd at near so much in our Common Assessment; which I refer to any indifferent judge to determine.

The Matter of Purchase will not argue between *Scotland* and *England*, because were there the same Security of Title to Land in *England* as there now is in *Scotland*; I am of Opinion it would advance the Price of Land in *England*, above Ten years purchase; why we are not wise enough to do it, I shall not pretend to determine.

4. The last Reason I shall give, nor but that there are yet more, is the difference in letting our Lands in *England*, which are in many Places fin'd down, and the stated Rents reduc'd; whereas in *Scotland* Lands are let without Leases, or but on short Terms, and at a Back-Rent; any Man that knows what belongs to Letting or Taking Lands in *England* cannot be ignorant: - 1st, That the Landlord, letting a long Lease to the Tenant, confining him to such and such Improvement, makes frequent Considerations in the Rent; and the Reason is, plain, that the Estate advances upon it at the Expiration of the Term. 2^d, Any Tenant that takes a Farm without a certainty of Years, will give the more, because he really seeks the uttermost Produce of the Land, without any regard to the time beyond him; and tho' the needy Landlord (for none but such will let their Land so) puts something the more Money in his Pocket for the present; yet his Estate sinks, the Land

is beggar'd, grows poor and out of heart, and he ~~loses~~ in the end.

This is a large Field, and perhaps would discover to the *Scots* much of the Reason why their Country is so poor, and consequently how to recover it, and make it rich; since the vast difference between the value of their Lands and ours cannot be wholly in the Land it self, but in the Management of the Tenantry, and Defect of their Leases & Contracts; but this is not the present Business, I shall handle that by it self.

On the other hand, should this Article of 4 s. per l. be insisted on in the literal Sence, and the *Scots* come to consider now to avoid it, by Fining down Rents and other advantageous Methods, which they may easily find out, they might soon evade the Act, and pay little or nothing; and this would be an Evil hard to discover; and if found out, almost impossible to cure.

For Example, If a Tennant takes a Farm in *England* at 100 l. per Ann. which in reality is worth 150; if he is bound to Build or Fence, it he is under Contract to Improve, Drein or Cure; if he contracts to give Landlord so many Quarter of Malt or Wheat, or Oats, or the like; he swears to the Annual Rent, produces his Lease, and shall be Tax'd no more (han he pays in Money; this would leave room for strange Advantages in *Scotland*, and in your 4 s. Aid, the *Scots* shall soon come off for 6 d. in the Pound.

I think these Reasons are sufficient to prove, that a Numerical or Arithmetical Proportion of Taxes, cannot be insisted on with the *Scots*, as being unreasonable on their side, and unable to answer the End on our side.

From this I come to examine if possible, what may be counted a due Equality; and here it will be necessary to enter a little into the short History of Taxes in *Scotland*, since the Restoration; which bringing it down to the present time, may serve as a Rule to this Matter.

Anciently the levying Money upon Land in *Scotland*, was called in General the Taxation, and the manner of levying it was by Rules altogether obsolete and now grown out of Use, as the Custom of Tenth Fifteenth, Subsidies, &c. are in *England*.

The now Method of Taxing Land has its beginning, as to Practice in the Assessment of 6000 l. per Month, settled in *Scotland* in Cromwell's time, when a Union was actually form'd and settled; of which, however deficient in it self, without doubt this may be said, that it had its

it the Essential Parts, and might be modell'd into a compleat Coalition.

This is the Tax they now go by, and is call'd in Scotland *The Cess*, by which I understand a *Month's Assessment*; 'tis rais'd upon Land by a Method peculiarly exact, and I have never heard any one complain of the Inequality.

'Tis rais'd, as is before not'd, without any Charge, Deduction, or Defalcation, and is paid *Nett* into the Treasury.

According as the occasions of the Government require, this Tax is encreased, but then not the Sum per Months is encreased, but the number of Months are encreased which by the help of time encreases the Sum.

The Original of the Demand was as before, and of the Method, but the Continuance of it was thus introduced. Anciently the Kings of Scotland contented themselves with the ancient *Demesnes*, Crown Lands Customs, &c. and on extraordinary Cases the Taxation as above, Exercises or any sort were altogether unknown, till the Days of King Charles the Second.

King Charles the Second in the Year 1661, obtain'd of the Scots to give him a settled Sum of 40000 *l.* Sterling during his Life, in Consideration whereof, he promised never to demand any *Cess* or Taxation, except in time of War, as by the Words of the Act as follows.—

13. Act of the 15th Parliament Cha. 2.

The Estates of Parliament taking to their Consideration the great happiness this Kingdom hath enjoyed, &c. and that the King's Majesty hath been Graciously pleas'd, notwithstanding all the Provocations given to himself and his Royal Father, to Evidence his Affection and Favour to this his Antient Kingdom, &c. do with all humble Duty acknowledge his Majesties unparallel'd Grace and Goodness, &c.

And seeing for the due Establishment of his Majesties Authority, and settling and securing the Peace of this Kingdom, his Majesty may have Occasion to Raise and keep some Forces within this Kingdom, and his Majesty has signified his Resolution, not raise any more Cels. Therefore and from the due Sense of their Duty and Obligations, the Estates of Parliament do in the Name of the Kingdom make an humble and cheerful Offer to his Majesty, of a Yearly Annuity of 40000 *l.* Sterl. during all the days of his Majesty's Lifetime.

This 40000 *l.* was rais'd 8000 *l.* laid as Impost on Foreign Importations, and 32000 *l.* per Ann. on Malt, Brew'd in Liquor for Sale, but

as this was a Novelty and uncertain in its Produce, a Cess was granted to make good the Deficiency, which Deficiency generally amounts to 2 Months Cess more or less, and other Cess than this Scotland knew none till the Convention 1666, which being a Time of War, a Cess was imposed, but not exceeding 3 Months.

Here I ought to observe, that the Excises & Customs of Scotland could not raise 40000 *l* per Ann. put together; which I note for the other Uses which I shall make of it hereafter; but to go on with my History.

From this time to the Year 1678, Scotland had no more Cess or Convention, nor was at any Charge more than to make good the Deficiency of the 40000 *l*. mentioned before; except 3 Months Cess during the Dutch War, expiring at Candlemas, 1674.

About this time the Nation being very unhappily divided into Parties, had the Misfortune, not only to have a religious Division, but a Court Division also; and People strove at any price to oblige the Sovereign in giving up their Privileges and Liberties; to be trampled on by Arbitrary Designs. And the first Fruits of this Counting the Prince, appeared in that they brought a Tax 5 Months upon the Country, to be continued for 5 Years; which tho' in time of Peace was back'd with a specious Pretence of the Disaffection of the Phanatics, or to express it in a more modern Phrase, the danger of the Church, as follows.

Act of Convention, 10 July 1678.

The Convention of Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland by his Majesties Authority and Command, at this time assembled, considering the great Happiness and Peace as all Kings and Estates do at present carefully secure Foreign Invasions and late time Commotions, as may make them a Prey to their Enemies: so it is not fit that this Kingdom should only, of all others, remain without Defence, in a time when these Dangerous Field Conventicles, declared by Law Rendezvous of Rebellion, do still grow in their Numbers and Insolencies, against all which the present Forces cannot be in reason thought a suitable Security in Recognizance thereof, &c. The Convention of Estates, &c. do humbly beseech his Majesty to accept their cheerful and humble Tender a new Supply.

This was the first Infracti^on upon the Scots, and upon the Kings Royal Promise; to cover which Duke Lauderdale then Commissioner, feign'd a new Word, and put upon it the Gloss of a VOLUNTARY OFFER, or free Gift.

When this had been impos'd for about 3 years, and 3 years before

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expir'd; King James then Duke of York, and high Commissioner in Scotland, when he was forc'd away from hence: *Ann.* 1681, obtain'd the Continuation of this 5 Months Cels for 3 Years, which was to the Year 1684: after he came to the Crown, He advanc'd it by his meer absolute Command to 8 Months Cels, and had it confirm'd to him for his Lite, *Vide the Act*, as follows.

12th Act of Parliament Jan. 7.

[The Estates of Parliament calling to mind the many great Blessings they have, and do enjoy under the Protection of the Royal Government, and especially by the many Deliverances from the rebellious Insurrections and Designs of Fanatical Traytors; from whom they could expect no less than Confusion in Religion, Oppression, &c. and that the Terror of his Majestys Forces hath been very instrumental for procuring our present Security; but considering, that not only these Enemies continue their inveterate Hatred against King and People, but that their frequent Disappointments have heighten'd their Malice to Dispair, and that the present Forces may be too few to undergoe all the Fatigue which his Majestys Service, &c. may require, and to demonstrate to all editious Men, that this Nation is resolv'd to bestow all they have in the Kings Service, rather than to bear the least of their insults; Do therefore, for themselves and the Nation represented by them, make a hearty and duriful Offer, &c. Over and above the 5 Months Cels already Imposed, &c. Whereby there will be 4 Months Cels payable at each Term hereafter, and as a farther Evidence of their entire Affection, &c. they humbly & heartily offer a Continuation of the said 4 Months Cels, **TERMLY**, during all the Terms of his Majestys Life time, which God Almighty long preserve.]

'Twould be remote to this matter to enter into the secret History of these arbitrary Proceedings in Scotland, in which I could give such a Display of Tyranny, that whoever were to read some Stories of it, which I could furnish the World with, would no more wonder, why the Scots are so mov'd against a Race of Men, that pretend to be hardly treated there.

The several Court Parties struggled, who should give their Country away fastest, the Bishops got into every part of the Civil Jurisdiction; the Severities against the People first drove them into Desperations and Rebellions, and then such Advantages were taken, and such use made of the said Insurrections to ruine others, that the poor People were brought

brought to the Brink of general Ruin: the Nation brought to that pass, that a Man might be fin'd or *forfaulted*; that is, his Estate taken from him, for his Wives giving a Half penny at his Door to a common Beggar, on pretence it was relieving a Rebel:

Thus poor *Scotland* was bought and sold, and the Example is useful for our Observation a great many ways, for thus shall every Nation be used, that is divided into contending Parties, and expos'd to an encroaching Government.

But that I may not have said all this foreign to the present Purpose, it is very observable, that this will make one PERIOD for Taxation, *viz.* the highest that an arbitrary Prince back'd with a Mercenary Nobility, and a governing Clergy, even in the greatest Extremity of absolute Tyranny ever impos'd upon this Nation, which they desir'd to squeeze, and car'd not if they ruin'd.

Come we now to the Revolution, which these Eycorbidances had no little Influence upon; the First thing Transacted upon the meeting of the Estates or Convention of *Scotland* was to break these Chains; reassume the Power of raising Taxes by Parliament, and make themselves Judges both of the Occasion, and of the Sum.

However as in *England* since the Revolution, greater Occasions have call'd for immense Sums to carry on the War; and such Taxes have been rais'd as were never heard of before; so in *Scotland* the Parliament have agreed to such Taxes, as the aforesaid Time of Tyranny excepted were never known in *Scotland* before.

Yet in the carrying on this War, six or seven Months Cels has one time with another, been thought *Scotland's* full Proportion, and the late King excepting one or two Years on extraordinary Occasions, always contented himself with it, and this at the same time that *England* rais'd 4s. *per l.* upon their Land, and Her present Majesty has never demanded more of her Subjects there, tho' the Weight of the War is now as great as ever and this I call another PERIOD of Taxation.

Now, what I mean by a Geometrical Scale, or Equality in Taxes, is drawn from these Proportions.

That since exact Valuation of Rents cannot be made on both sides and least of all in *England*; it seems as good a way to come at this Equality, as any I have yet seen.

That the highest Period of Taxes that ever *Scotland* bore since the Restoration may be taken on one hand, and set against the highest Period of Taxes that ever *England* bore. I mean of a Land-Tax on both Sides, and let this stand together as the Scale of Equality. Thus

(43)
Thus suppose the Scots 8 Months Cels, tho' that was the height of Tyranick Imposition, tho' 'tis allowed the Scots are manifestly impoverish'd, and less able to bear it than they were; yet say, it be full 8 Months Cels, and let this against the English 4 s. per L. and I cannot believe any more just Calculation can be made.

Thus when ever a Tax upon Land for 4 s per Pound is granted, the Scots pay 8 Months Cels if of 2 s per Pound in England, 4 Months Cels; and so in Proportion.

Nor is this so wide of more nice Calculators, the Ingenious Author Of the Enquiry into the Reasonableness and Consequences of a Union, &c. Calculates Scotland to pay 50000 l. per Annum on Land, when England pay 2 Millions, in which he differs but 2000 l. per Ann.

What better and more regular Equation can be drawn than this, I confess I know not; and tho' the Scots seems in this to save no Money by the Revolution, but to return to the Valuation put on them by their worst Enemies, yet I hope they will think the Union not bought too dear, whatever they pay in Reason, and within the Ability for it; especially considering the Continuance of the Extraordinary Taxes, are only for the present State of War, which we hope cannot last long.

I come next to the Taxes on Trade, and these consist in Customs upon Goods Imported from Abroad, and Excise on the Consumption at Home; and here are yet greater Inequalities than before, and they are to be considered by Proportion also.

The Inequalities here will ly on both sides; & first on the English, should not the Scale come up even to a literal Numerical Equality in point of Goods Imported, an open free uninterrupted Commerce by Land being the Consequence of a Union, they would ruin the English Trade, by supplying our Markets with all sorts of Imported Goods, cheaper than our Merchants could do, and this would be a most destructive Article in Trade, especially in fine Goods. For Example, in Linens from Hamborough or Holland, or in Tobacco, Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, such other things as are now under large Duty and small Carriage; these would all be spread over England by the Scots, to our Damage, and a Confusion in Trade.

There is no doubt therefore but the Customs, Prohibitions & Charge of all foreign Importations, must be numerically, and literally the same in both Nations, unless a small Abatement, which it may be necessary to allow to the Scots for Encouragement of Shipping, and for the

he Carriage of their Overplus to *London*, which still will be the Commanding Port in Trade.

But I come from these Heads, to the General State of Taxes in both Nations; and here the Scale of Equality is very uneven, and the *Scots* have vastly the Disadvantage in case of a Union.

The *English* are a rich Nation but greatly in Debt, the *Scots* are poor but free and clear from all manner of Incumbrance, Arrear, or any Claim of Debt whatsoever.

Now take the two Nations as coming to unite, they seem like two Tradesmen entering into Partnership; One has a great Stock, but being before in the Trade, has large Debts both to pay and receive; the Other brings in a small Stock, but being clear, and having no Debts, tho' he comes in but for a smaller share of Trade; yet they begin upon a clear Stock, and a new Foundation.

The Credits of the old Trade are set apart, and the Debts of the old Trade are set against them, and they are paid off, and receiv'd in, by themselves, for the separate Accounts of the old Trader; and all future Dealings go on upon a new Foot.

I know some Gentlemen differ from my Opinion in this Matter, but I desire to explain my self, and then submit my Judgment to any Man's Censure.

We have a Debt upon us Contracted by the Length and Weight of the War, which will not be paid in many Years; the *Scots* have no Debt upon them, they bring a small but clear Revenue, the Overplus of which will revert into our Exchequer.

Speaking upon the Square, there is no Reason we should ask the *Scots* to help to pay our Debts, or to come into our appropriated Taxes, and here as I conceive lyes the greatest Difficulty of the Treaty.

An Equality of Taxation, understood as before, is certainly most absolutely necessary to Trade, to compleat the Union and to remove Disadvantages in Commerce. But *England* to answer her vast Debts has loaded her self with some Taxes which are in this Circumstances impracticable in *Scotland*, and which would if offered, tend to discompose the People there, and render the Union odious and uneasy to them, as a thing that would load them with Taxes, which they never heard of, and which their present condition will not suffer them to bear.

To reconcile this Difficulty, the Author before quoted, has I think, a little too easily come into the thing, for an Equivalent to be paid out

out of the said Duties in several Sums, which be placed against their share of the Debt as follows:

The *English* Debts amount to a heavy Sum, no less than one and twenty Millions, and the Gentleman states by a reasonable Proportion enough, the *Scots* share of those Debts shall be 600000*l.* in recompence for this, he offers a Rent Charge of 30000 *l.* per Ann. to be appropriated to certain uses for the publick Good, till this Sum of 600000 *l.* shall be paid.

This is the Equivalent for bringing the *Scots* in, to pay their share of 21 Millions of our Debts.

But to examine this, let us first enquire what occasion have the *Scots* to make us this Loan, or, what Necessity are we in to ask it. For in short, this is nothing but Borrowing 600000 *l.* to pay our Debts, and repaying them again by a Rent Charge of 30000 *l.* per Ann. out of their own Money, and this without any Partiality to the *Scots*, I must own a most unreasonable Request.

'Tis allow'd by the Gentleman aforesaid, that after the Union, the Over-plus of the Revenue in the Kingdom of Scotland, the Civil Government being entirely defrayed, amount to 180000 *l.* per Ann.

Now who shall this overplus revert to? the Answer is, more plain, it shall revert to the united Treasury of Britain, and the *English* of that is, that we shall gain all that Sum in ready Money yearly from the *Scots*, an Article I humbly recommend to those Gentlemen, who say *We shall get nothing by the Union*.

Now if this be true, I can see no Reason, nor the least Occasion, why we should oblige the *Scots* to come into every Tax we have laid, whether it be properly suited for their Country or no; and this leads me to examine: What Condition are the *Scots* in, to come up to you in an Equality of Taxes? There may be some Taxes which are peculiarly proper for one Country, which are not so in another; the Taxes in England chiefly lye on foreign Trade, in *Holland* they lye on the Home Consumption; should *England* pay for every Distinctive of their Eatables and Drinkables as the *Dutch* do, our Yeomenry and Common People would be undone. Should *Holland* load their Trade, and lay heavy Duties on their Imports, they had hardly been a People, much less a Rich Opulent Nation; and many Reasons might be brought to prove this Observation, but I bring it nearer home,

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There are a great many Reasons to be given, why the *Scots* are noway able to bear the present Duties upon Malt and Salt, which are raised in *England*; of which I shall speak presently.

Before giving me leave to beg the Question for the present, do but suppose those Duties improper for *Scotland*, let us inquire next, why should they be imposed?

First of all, they are both Calculated but at 40000 l per Ann which deducted from the Sum of 186000 l . you still receive 146000 l per Ann out of *Scotland* clear of all Expence, as a Capital, clearly gain'd by the Union.

If it be true that the *Scots* shall grow rich by you, their Riches shall still be your Gain; as their Trade encreases so will their Customs, and all shall tend to raise that Sum of 146000 l per Ann higher, and more to the publick Gain of *England*.

So that, Gentleman, do but pay your own Debts, and you have no need to lay any unreasonable Burthens upon your Neighbours.

But now to show how this is still more Equal, let us examine the Great Question here, How must we carry on the War? If I were a *Scott* I would answer it by asking another: How do you carry it on now? We are to pay none of your Debts for you now, why should we buy our Union with you at 600000 l . Debt, and 186000 l per Ann. Taxes?

On the other hand, take away your appropriated Taxes, and your War would be carried on without the Taxes on Malt and Salt; were your Debts all paid, 'tis certain the Land Tax, Customs, Excise, and several Branches of Revenue, as Coals, Stamp-Paper, Post Office, &c. would carry on the whole Expence of the War.

So that 'tis very evident, take the Reason of the Case into Consideration, there can be nothing said why the *Scots* should come into a literal Equality of Taxes, the Taxes themselves being inconsistent with the Circumstances and only necessary for you here for Payment of Debts not for carrying on the War.

It remains to examine why these two Taxes are unfairable to, or impossible in *Scotland*, and thus:

1. Because they are Exorbitant in their Rate being Charg'd not upon the Value, but upon the Bulk of the Commodity; and the Goods bearing so different a Value in *Scotland* and in *England*, to put the Duty equal, would be Tax to the *Scots* in three times the Sum they paid in *England*.

For Example, suppose the Duty upon Salt, which is charg'd by Weight in general, amounts in Scotland to 16 s. 4 d. Sterling, upon 2 s. value, and in England to 16 s. 4 d. Sterling, upon 10 s. 6 d. Value, or thereabout: let any Man state the Proportion, here they will easily allow the Tax to be intolerable to the Scots; since by the same Proportion the English ought to pay 2 l. 17 s. 4 d. for the same quantity of Salt, or the Scots ought to pay but 4 s. 8 d. for that which by this Tax is rated at 16 s. 4 d. the like, tho' not in so great a Distance for the Malt.

22. The Weight of the Salt Tax lyes especially on the Poor, who in Scotland live very much on Salt Meats, and whose differing Condition from the English does not permit, our cannot bear being tax'd at all, much less equal to the English. And not to insist on the further Impracticableness of these Taxes, I shall answer one Objection here.

If we are tax'd on our Salt and Malt, and Scotland is not, then all the Salt and Malt that can be convey'd from Scotland into England, will make an unreasonable Advantage to one, and be injurious to the other.

To this I answer, The same Argument is good against reduction of the Rate an Equality, and yet the contrary would be an intolerable Oppression, and an In quality too extravagant to mention. The Remedy for this is thus.

They are both bulky Commodities and not to be hid, the Excise-Men in the Towns on the Borders, and the Officers on the Coast may be empowered to Charge all Malt and Salt Imported from Scotland, with the English Duty as they would do now; and this may be without any Addition of Officers, either on the Borders or in the Ports; the Salt being so bulky and heavy, that it can't be conceal'd, put in a Pocket, or carried under a Coat; so I think that Difficulty falls to the Ground, and to reconcile the rest, the following General, which is the Consequence of the whole, seems to me highly reasonable on both sides.

That what Debts are contracted on both sides, be paid by both Nations, out of the respective Duties of either Nation, as now establish'd That the Overplus of the Scots Revenue be improv'd for the Settling Trade, and Encouragement and Employment of the Poor, and other publick Uses; That the Scots be exempted from the Taxes of Salt, and Malt, only for so long as the English Debts are paid, or for a Certain Term

Term of Years, to be Calculated from the Proportion between those Taxes and the *English* Debts.--- And afterwards to stand upon a proportion'd Equality with *England*, in all Taxes that shall be rais'd for the Publick Good.

This must be call'd an Equality; because *Scotland* is at present unconcern'd in our Debts, and cannot reasonably be brought into an Emburiance for that Money they had no hand in borrowing, nor, any part of the the Advantage of.

To say, they shall have an Equivalent for this Payment, is not an Answer; because I think it may be said, the Tax cannot be laid, the poor cannot pay it; the Equivalent is to the State, and cannot be given the Poor that are aggriev'd; if it can, 'tis the same thing, and not Taxing is a nearer way to keep them easie.

As to the Excises of Beer, Ale, &c I see no occasion to debate them; 'Tis a Charge on none but the Liquor sold, and affects no Body, but they that please to spend their Money; Only it requires the *Scots* Ale, which they call *Two penny Ale*, and which is about the Price of our Small Beer, should be express'd to signifie Small Beer, and pay as much; the Value being the same. Otherwise the *Scots* would pay for the Name; and calling that Ale, which really is but Small Beer, be wrong'd in the Proportion, and be pinch'd in their Trade.

Nor is all this to be call'd advocating for the *Scots*; the Question is not here, whether it be pleading on this Side or that; But whether the Facts on either side be true? And whether the calculated Proportions are stated right, and the Reasons good? If no; I should be pleas'd to see any Gentleman fairly detect them, and would be very forward to alter my Judgment.

To argue them for Truth and Justice, impartially to state the Inequalities on either side, and bring them to a Balance, is neither Arguing for the *English* nor the *Scots*, but for the Union in general; and in that respect is for the general Good of *Britain*; since the Union is for the Advantage of the whole, but more especially for *England*; which in the Pursuit of this Work, I Question not to make good.

It remains now to enquire.--- That since the *Scots* Revenue shall amount to above 140000 *l.* per Annum more than their Expence, whether it shall not be thought sufficient reasonable to employ that Money or such a part of it, as shall be thought for the publick Improvement of the Countrey, from whence it is rais'd; and How.

The Methods for Employing it, the just Occasion there is to do so for Re-
 viving the Trade of that Kingdom. Employing the Poor, Reviving Manufactures,
 and making Good Losses will be the Subject of the next Part of this Discourse.
 Some Expedients, and their proper Explications, for Settling the Trade
 to *India*, to the Mutual Advantage, and I hope, Satisfaction of both Kingdoms
 shall also be part of our Care.

And lastly, To examine the Inequalities between the Two Kingdoms with re-
 spective to Trade, reduce them to Balance, and make some Enquiry into those hard
 Articles to us, *viz.* 1. The letting the *Scots* into Our Plantation Trade.

Opening to them the Fountain of our Manufactures; I mean our Wool by
 which we say, they fall into Our Trade, and by Under-workings; and by
 Consequence Under selling. ruin Our Trade at home, and rob us of the most
 Capital Article of Our Prosperity, the Employment of our Poor.

I cannot enter upon these things here, but I cannot conclude this Part of
 the Work, without saying, I doubt not to prove, That even in all these things
 we shall have the Advantage of *Scotland*, and be Gainers by the Union.

I shall prove, that the *Scots* Trading to our Colonies, shall enrich those very
 Colonies: and that in the single and only Wealth, which at present is the Dead
 Weight upon their Prosperity *viz.* the want of People -- What prevents our
New-England Trade being Couverted into a *New-England* Trade, Hemp, Pitch, Tar,
 Rosin, Plank, Masts, &c being brought from the Continent of *America*; as it al-
 ready begins to be from *Carolina*. Why does not *New-England* supply us with
 Copper, *Pennsylvania* with Iron, and all these Metals which we now purchase
 with our ready Money? Why are they not bought with our own Manufactures
 wrought by our own People, and the Wealth of them revert to our General
 Stock? Why are not the Bowels of the Earth search'd in the vast Tracts of Land
 we Possess there, for a Treasure which has lain hid for so many Ages, and which
 we send to other Nations for, by at our Disadvantage, and let our own lie still
 as a prize put in the hand of a Fool, or a Talent hid in a Napkin? 'Tis evident,
 and I shall put it past doubt when I come to the particulars, That we have a yet
 Undiscovered wealth in the Mountains of *America*; and when we come to ask
 our Merchants there, why it has not been searched into, they will un-
 animously Answer, *Want of People.*

This therefore is the Wealth the Union shall bring us; this the Treasure to be
 mined out of the Barren Mountains of *Scotland*; Poor *Scotland* shall thus make
 Rich *England*; and we shall gain of them that only wealth, that single Ad-
 vantage, which of all things we want most, and which in time may make *Brit-
 tain* the most Powerful Nation in the World.

As to our Woollen Manufactures;

I. shall prove the *Scots* need them.

I Have no Genius to ours.

III. If they had, they can never fall into them with Advantage, or be able to outwork or undersell ours; but on the contrary, our People are able to outwork them, undersell them, keep them out of our Manufactures, and at any time sell them cheaper than they shall be able to make them.

There are some necessary Speculations, which as the Consequences of the Union I shall descend to, perhaps useful to both Nations; in which I shall open a Series of Advantages to both Kingdoms for Trade and with which I shall clothe the Union; in which, without the Charge of an Extravagant Projection, I endeavour to show the Field of Trade is vastly extended, and more than sufficient to both Kingdoms, that a Coalition of Trade shall be mutually advantageous, and that one Article of Trade be lessen'd, discouraged, oppress'd or suppress'd, nor on either hand.

That neither the Stock of both Kingdoms, nor the Hands of both Kingdoms can be too great or too many, the one to be improved, and the other to be employ'd in the many and most extensive Branches of yet undiscovered Trade, than in cultivated Parts of Trade, which Providence seem to have reserv'd for a General Union of both Nations, and which we seem almost incapable of carrying on without one another.

And that I may not have advanc'd a Nation I cannot make Good in the Union shall be our Advantage I shall at last enquire, whole shall the Wealth be; to whom the Encrease. - And in this Search it will appear beyond contradiction, That as *London* is the *Emporium* of *Britain*, it will be the Center of Wealth, and all the Circles will meet there, all the Lines of Trade will be drawn to and to it; the Parts like Members to the Body, will thrive and grow proportionably Fat and Rich; but this will be the Fountain from whence, and the Conduit thro' which all that Wealth will be convey'd, and the Ocean into which it all flows, will be the People.

I shall undertake to prove also, That it cannot be otherwise that all Returns will be made thither, Fraights of Ships from all Foreign Nations made thither, Exchanges will all Center there; Bills be payable there, and the general Correspondence must come by way of *London*.

Of these things I shall treat more largely in our next; & the mean time shall be glad to see any substantial Reason offer'd against a Union & those Reasons drawn from any Principles or Foundations, except such as are Destructive to the present politick Settlement and General Good of both.

But as I see no room for it, I cannot but conclude, that nothing can promote the Wealth, Strength and Prosperity of both Kingdoms, like a Firm, Entire Union, and Indissoluble UNION.

(S P N I S)